FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-176
Tuesday
11 September 1990

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-176 CONTENTS *11 September 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

- Shevardnadze on Relations With United Germany *[East Berlin ADN]* 1
  - Expects Trade To Increase *[Hamburg DPA]* 1
- Baker in Brussels To Brief NATO on Summit *[TASS]* 1
- Baker To Attend Two-Plus-Four, Bilateral Talks 2
  - Arrives in Moscow 10 Sep *[TASS]* 2
  - Begins Talks With Shevardnadze *[TASS]* 2
  - Shevardnadze Holds News Conference *[TASS]* 2
- Agreement Reached on Financing Troop Withdrawal *[AFP]* 2
- Gorbachev, Bush Invited to Unification Ceremony *[PRAVDA 10 Sep]* 3
- Commentaries View Future Ties With United Germany 3
  - Costs of Unification Pondered *[PRAVDA 8 Sep]* 3
  - Two-Plus-Four Talks Assessed *[TASS]* 4
  - FRG Plans for GDR Army Viewed *[PRAVDA 4 Sep]* 5
  - Economic Issues Considered *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 1 Sep]* 5
  - Distrust of United Germany Noted *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 31 Aug]* 6
- 'International Situation' Program on Gulf Crisis *[Moscow Radio]* 7
- 'Observers Roundtable' Views Week's Events *[Moscow Radio]* 10
- PRC Academic Views Shevardnadze's Speech *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 7 Sep]* 12
- North Atlantic Delegation To Assess Perestroyka *[TASS]* 12
- Grinevskiy Cited on Vienna CSCE Talks *[TASS]* 13

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

- Joint U.S. Aircraft Project Planned at Summit *[Moscow International]* 14
- Commentaries Continue To Assess Helsinki Summit 14
  - 'Unified Front' Seen *[TASS]* 14
  - Soviet Policy Assessed *[Primakov on Moscow TV]* 14
  - Iraqi Reports Highly Critical *[Moscow International]* 15
- Cheney Reviews U.S. Military Policies, Strategy *[PRAVDA 8 Sep]* 16
- U.S. Naval Detachment Arrives in Vladivostok *[TASS]* 16

China

- Talks Begin With PRC on Armed Forces Cuts *[TASS]* 16
- Soviet Envoy to PRC Received by Chinese Premier *[Moscow International]* 17
- Tourists Visit Newly Opened PRC Border Area *[TASS]* 17

Northeast Asia

- North-South Korean Premier-Level Talks Viewed 17
  - To End 'Hostility, Confrontation' *[Moscow International]* 17
  - 'Positive Result' Seen *[IZVESTIYA 8 Sep]* 18
- North Korea Celebrates Founding Anniversary 18
  - Yazov Sends Greetings *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Sep]* 18
  - Problems, Progress Seen *[Moscow International]* 19
  - 'Great Achievements' Noted *[Moscow International]* 19
- Yanayev, South Korean Delegation Hold Talks *[TASS]* 20
- RSFSR Economic Delegation Arrives in Seoul *[TASS]* 20
- Deputy Chairman of Mongolian Party Elected *[Moscow Radio]* 20

Near East & South Asia

- Gorbachev, Israeli Adviser Confer on Gulf *[Jerusalem Radio]* 20
- Israeli Housing Minister Sharon Visits Moscow 21
  - Visit Termed 'Provocative' *[TASS]* 21
  - Sharon Urges Jews To Immigrate *[Jerusalem Radio]* 21
- Saudis Respond to Crisis by Increasing Contacts *[TASS]* 21
- Iraqi Minister Denounces U.S.-Led Sanctions *[TASS]* 21
- Politburo's Yanayev Meets With Tunisian Envoy *[PRAVDA 8 Sep]* 22
- Former Military Adviser Interviewed on Iraq *[Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ 7-9 Sep]* 22

Sub-Saharan Africa

- Relations With Somalia Reviewed on Anniversary *[TASS]* 23

East Europe

- East German Prime Minister Arrives in Moscow *[Hamburg DPA]* 24
- Outgoing GDR Envoy Holds Predeparture Meetings 24
  - Visits With Laptev *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* 24
  - Sees Internal Affairs Minister *[IZVESTIYA 8 Sep]* 24
- Organized Crime Disrupts Polish Marketplace *[TRUD 5 Sep]* 24
- Bulgarian Economic Problems Affect Relations *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Sep]* 24

West Europe

- Lukyanov Sees Visiting Swedish Parliamentarians *[IZVESTIYA 8 Sep]* 26
- Latvia's Gorbunovs Receives Norwegian Delegation *[Riga Radio]* 26
- Defense Ministry Hails Commander's UK Visit *[TASS]* 26
- TASS Reports British Communist Party Changes 26

Latin America & Caribbean

- Latin American 'Expert' Assesses Ties With Cuba *[Moscow International]* 26
- Commentary Examines Left's Role in Bolivia *[NEW TIMES No 36]* 27

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet

- Further on Lukyanov's 8 Sep Press Conference *[IZVESTIYA 10 Sep]* 29
- Deputy Proposes Adopting Alternative Agenda *[TASS]* 30
- Nonconfidence Motion Against Ryzhkov Proposed *[Moscow International]* 30
- Sobchak Wants Role of 'Supreme Bodies' Examined *[Moscow Radio]* 31
- Supreme Soviet Deputies Question Lukyanov *[Moscow Radio]* 31
- Agenda Proposed by Presidium Rejected *[TASS]* 33
- Chairman Lukyanov Addresses Supreme Soviet *[Moscow TV]* 33
- Deputy Dzasokhov on Tasks Omitted From Agenda *[Moscow TV]* 36
- Gorbachev To Attend Supreme Soviet 11 Sep *[TASS]* 36
- Coverage of Economic Report to Supreme Soviet 37
  - Ryzhkov Delivers Economic Report *[Moscow International]* 37
  - 'Radically Measured Option' *[TASS]* 37
  - 'Disagreements' on Market Noted *[TASS]* 37
  - Shatalin Addresses Deputies *[Moscow Radio]* 38
  - Gorbachev Speaks on Market *[Moscow International]* 38
  - Gorbachev Prefers Shatalin Plan *[TASS]* 38
- Parliamentarians To Tackle Market Program *[PRAVDA 10 Sep]* 38

Political & Social

- Gorbachev Encourages 'Triumph of the Law' *[PRAVDA 11 Sep]* 41
- Ryzhkov Criticized Over Purchase of Dacha *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Sep]* 42
- KGB Colonel Describes Antiterrorist Unit *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 23 Aug]* 43
- Investigation of KGB Activities Demanded *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Sep]* 45
- Murder of Moscow Priest Under Investigation *[Moscow International]* 46

- 'Shades of Rambo' Wander Moscow Streets *[Moscow Radio]* ... 46
- GUDOK Collective Proclaims 'Independence' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Sep]* ... 46

Economic

- Minister Ryzhkov on Economic Reform Program *[AFP]* ... 46
    - Leadership Split Over Reforms *[AFP]* ... 46
- Arctic Merchant Fleet Strike Wins Pay Deal *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* ... 47
- Gosplan Official Discusses Fuel Shortages *[PRAVDA 17 Aug]* ... 47
    - Coke Ovens Face Closure *[Moscow Radio]* ... 48
- Rostov Coal Miners Appeal for State Subsidy *[PRAVDA 9 Sep]* ... 49

Agricultural

- Military Supports RSFSR Harvest Efforts *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 4 Sep]* ... 50
- Farm Chief Complains About Obsolete Equipment *[Moscow TV]* ... 51
- Packaging Problems Postpone Grape Shipments *[Moscow TV]* ... 52
- Uzbek Melons Spoiling Due to Storage Problems *[Moscow TV]* ... 52
- Tyumen Grain Harvest Off to 'Good Start' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 6 Sep]* ... 53

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

- Landsbergis Comments on Gorbachev Message 6 Sep *[Vilnius Radio]* ... 54
- Lithuanian Economic Plans, Structure Outlined *[Vilnius International]* ... 54
- Prunskiene Expresses Concern About Economy *[TASS]* ... 54
- Lithuanian Draft Economic Program Outlined *[EKHO LITVY 10 Aug]* ... 55
- Brazauskas Departs on Visit to Azerbaijan *[Vilnius Radio]* ... 60
- Academician on New Lithuanian Political Faction *[Vilnius International]* ... 60
- Lithuanian Sajudis Condemns Liberty League Moves *[Vilnius International]* ... 61
- Gorbunovs Interviewed About Kuzmin's Complaint *[Moscow Radio]* ... 61
- Border Tension Down After 'European Path' Action *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 9 Sep]* ... 62
- Estonian Supreme Soviet Convenes 10 Sep *[Tallinn Radio]* ... 62
- Supreme Soviet Hears Report on USSR Talks *[Moscow Radio]* ... 62
- Estonia Seeks Own Armed Forces, U.S. Advisers *[TASS]* ... 63
- Savisaar Addresses Estonian Supreme Soviet 6 Aug *[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 10 Aug]* ... 63
- Baltic Declaration Passed to Envoys, Gorbachev *[Vilnius International]* ... 68

RSFSR

- 7 Sep RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session Reported *[Moscow TV]* ... 69
    - Deputies Discuss Shortages *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 8 Sep]* ... 72
- 10 Sep RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session Reported *[Moscow TV]* ... 73
- Yeltsin Outlines RSFSR Supreme Soviet Agenda *[Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 8 Sep]* ... 74
- Yeltsin Resists Push for Ryzhkov's Resignation *[TASS]* ... 74
- Yeltsin Advocates Minimum Economic Standards *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 7 Sep]* ... 75
- Agriculture Minister Discusses Price Incentives *[Moscow TV]* ... 75
- Russian Parliament Endorses New Cabinet Members *[TASS]* ... 76
- Russian Government, Parties Set To Meet 21 Sep *[Moscow International]* ... 76
- 6 Sep RSFSR Party Congress Session Reported ... 76
    - Accounting Records Approved *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 7 Sep]* ... 76
    - Stolyarov Cited on Congress *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 7 Sep]* ... 77
    - Discussion of Program Assessed *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* ... 77
- Polozkov Cited on Results of Party Congress *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 8 Sep]* ... 78
- Prokofyev Discusses Congress at News Conference *[Moscow Radio]* ... 78
- Burlatskiy Critiques RSFSR Party Program *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 36]* ... 78
- Moscow, Leningrad Deputies Decry 'Blockade' *[Moscow TV]* ... 82
    - Further on Group Statement *[TASS]* ... 82
- Bread Shortages Reported; Resolutions Sought ... 82
    - Muscovites Complain of Shortages *[Moscow TV]* ... 82
    - TRUD Ponders Rationing *[5 Sep]* ... 83
    - Shelves in Moscow 'Empty' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 5 Sep]* ... 84

- Situation 'Remains Acute' *[Moscow TV]* ... 85
- Mobile Bakeries To Be Used *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* ... 85
- Sverdlovsk Issues 'Ultimatum' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Sep]* ... 86

Moscow Radio Reports on New Commodity Exchange ... 87
Moscow Panel To Register All Political Parties *[IZVESTIYA 31 Aug]* ... 87
Rostov Nuclear Power Station Project Mothballed *[IZVESTIYA 5 Sep]* ... 88
Tula Aktiv Says State Must Control Market *[IZVESTIYA 5 Sep]* ... 88

Western Republics

Hijacker Semenov Begins Five-Year Jail Sentence *[TASS]* ... 88
Belorussia Abolishes Quality Control Service *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 29 Aug]* ... 89
Situation in Moldavia 'Remains Tense' ... 90
- Deputies, Population Meet *[TASS]* ... 90
- Rallies Continue in Towns *[Moscow TV]* ... 90
- Militia Arrival Protested *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Sep]* ... 90
- Leaders Examine Gagauz Autonomy *[SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA 18 Aug]* ... 90
- Gagauz Leader Interviewed *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 5 Sep]* ... 91

Frolov Pays Visit to Vinnitsa Oblast *[PRAVDA 8 Sep]* ... 92
Ukraine International Symposium Views 1932 Famine *[Moscow International]* ... 92
Ukrainian Leader Views Commonwealth Guidelines *[Kiev International]* ... 92
Donetsk Party Conference Begins Second Stage *[PRAVDA 10 Sep]* ... 93
Ukraine Decision on Draftees Said Unconstitutional *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 9 Sep]* ... 94
Lenin Memorial Dismantled in Ukraine *[Moscow Radio]* ... 95
Imported Machines Fail To Boost Knitwear Output *[Moscow TV]* ... 95
Possibly Allergenic SRV Goods Withdrawn *[IZVESTIYA 1 Sep]* ... 95
Crimean Deputies Demand Republic Status *[Moscow Radio]* ... 96
Crimean Tartars Return Without State Assistance *[Moscow TV]* ... 96

Caucasus

Armenian Procuracy Party Organizations Dissolved *[Moscow TV]* ... 97
Armenian Parliament Institutes Newspaper *[TASS]* ... 97
Armenian Supreme Soviet Under Pressure To Secede *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 7 Sep]* ... 97
Armenian Interior Ministry Reports Arms Return *[Yerevan Radio]* ... 97
Armenia-Azerbaijan Tension Continues on Border ... 97
- Armenian Curfew Reduced *[Moscow Radio]* ... 97
- General Denounces Leaflets *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 5 Sep]* ... 98
- 'Little Hope' of Settlement *[TASS]* ... 99
- More Weapons Seized on Border *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Sep]* ... 100
- Tension Mounting in NKAO *[TASS]* ... 101
- Azerbaijanis Occupy Building *[Yerevan Radio]* ... 101

Negotiations on Flights to NKAO Unproductive *[Yerevan International]* ... 102
Georgian Official Cited on Legislation Amendments *[TASS]* ... 102
Georgian Military Road Undergoing Restoration *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 4 Sep]* ... 102

Central Asia

Leninabad, Osh, Fergena Sign Cooperation Accord *[Moscow Radio]* ... 103
Kirghiz Communists Complain of Congress Fix *[PRAVDA 4 Sep]* ... 103
Yeltsin Documentary Film Banned in Kirghizia *[IZVESTIYA 7 Sep]* ... 105
Tajikistan Sentences Imam for Inciting Riots *[TASS]* ... 105
- Mass Riot Casualties Listed *[Moscow Radio]* ... 106

Tajik Cotton Growers Seek New Forms of Ownership *[Moscow TV]* ... 106
Moves To Improve Military Service for Uzbeks *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 1 Sep]* ... 106

Shevardnadze on Relations With United Germany

LD1009194490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1711 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze this evening expressed satisfaction and optimism with regard to the result of the two-plus-four process on the external aspects of German unification to correspondents of the news agencies ADN, AFP, DPA, AP, REUTER, and UPI. Two days before the presumably last meeting of the foreign ministers, which he described as historic, Shevardnadze also said that a new and important breakthrough was achieved today in the long-discussed question of financial payments to the Soviet Union in the so-called transitional treaty. He also announced that tomorrow may see the possible initialling of the "grand treaty" on future relations between the Soviet Union and a united Germany.

He said that an important and comprehensive document has been drafted within the two-plus-four framework, which represents a good settlement of the whole complex of external aspects with regard to the two German states' unification. "We have a right to count on a united Germany being an active participant in the process of extensive European and international changes and in making an adequate contribution, commensurate with its influential role and its place in Europe, to the rearrangement of the foundations of life in the continent on the basis of goodneighborliness, cooperation and partnership," Shevardnadze said, defining his expectations of a future Germany.

He again pointed to the decades of close alliance relations which "form the warmest feelings for the people of the GDR." Shevardnadze said that "we fully respect the choice made by the Germans of the FRG and the GDR to live in one single house." He hopes that the new German state will incorporate the extensive experience that has been gathered in the decades of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR.

Shevardnadze said: "We are convinced that for quite a number of objective reasons, relations between the Soviet Union and a united Germany will become an important factor in European and indeed international politics." The Soviet Union seriously hopes for an increase in practical cooperation with a united Germany, whose potential would make it the most important power in West Europe. According to Shevardnadze, the expectations should find their material form in bilateral treaties, the conclusion of which was agreed by the leading politicians of the USSR and the FRG in Arkhyz in the Northern Caucasus. The most important of these, the "grand treaty," is now practically ready to be signed.

Shevardnadze said that the most important factor in connection with the two-plus-four agreement is an expansion and deepening of the European process, which is achieving a new quality and a new level. Here an all-European structure and security and a juridicial, economic, and humanitarian entity of Europe is coming into being. In this connection he noted that a center for the avoidance of conflicts will be set up and that the CSCE summits will acquire a regular character. The decisive factor in creating a new situation in Europe and which has definitely promoted the smooth development of German reunification is, however, the readiness of the two military-political blocs to sign a declaration on new relations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on the transformation of these alliances. A great amount of work is in progress on the text of the declaration, and with its signing the participating states will express the fact that they no longer regard the members of the other alliance as enemies. Just a couple of years ago one would not even have dreamt of this.

Expects Trade To Increase

LD1009191390 Hamburg DPA in German 1716 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—Speaking to journalists in Moscow, USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze has expressed the hope that President Gorbachev will be present at the signing of the two-plus-four agreement on Wednesday [12 September], in view of its special significance. [passage omitted]

The Soviet foreign minister expects a clear expansion of German-Soviet trade after the unification of the two German states. "The trade volume between the USSR and the United Germany will be immense," Shevardnadze told journalists. He said that bilateral economic relations would be "more" than a mere addition to the Soviet Union's existing trade with the Federal Republic and the GDR.

Baker in Brussels To Brief NATO on Summit

LD1009135290 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Brussels September 10 TASS—A meeting of NATO foreign ministers opened here today. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has arrived in the Belgian capital from Helsinki to attend the meeting. He will inform America's NATO allies on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit talks.

Baker told journalists upon his arrival in Brussels that the Helsinki summit was successful and that he would confirm this today. He said that, in his opinion, the NATO nations would react positively to the results of the negotiations.

The session will also discuss the Gulf situation and prospects for settling the conflict provoked by Iraq's invasion of its tiny neighbour.

Baker To Attend Two-Plus-Four, Bilateral Talks

Arrives in Moscow 10 Sep

LD1009191190 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Moscow today to participate in the "two-plus-four" talks of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France, and East and West Germany.

The talks will be held on September 12.

Baker will also hold talks with Soviet officials. A Soviet Foreign Ministry official told TASS that the Soviet-U.S. talks will focus on the "further development and invigoration of Soviet-U.S. trade and economic ties".

Baker is co-chairman of a presidential trade-and-economic mission, now staying in the Soviet Union. The other co-chairman is Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher.

At Moscow's airport, Baker was welcomed by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Alexey Obukhov.

Begins Talks With Shevardnadze

LD1109073790 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 11 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker began their talks here this morning with a one-to-one meeting at the Soviet Foreign Ministry mansion.

Baker arrived in Moscow on Monday [10 Sep] evening to participate in a meeting of foreign ministers within the "two-plus-four" framework on Wednesday.

It is expected that the two ministers will discuss the Gulf situation and the development of Soviet-American relations.

It is possible that specialists in disarmament and a Central American settlement will also be involved in the talks.

Shevardnadze Holds News Conference

LD1109095390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 11 Sep 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow, 11 sep (TASS)—The main task of the Soviet-U.S. talks which began here this morning is "to prepare for tomorrow's meeting within the framework of the 'two-plus-four' machinery". This was stated today by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in a conversation with journalists before the start of the meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. He also announced that he will be meeting with foreign ministers from other countries participating in the "two-plus-four" machinery today.

The minister noted that there are still several issues on the agenda for the meeting within the framework of the "two-plus-four" machinery which require the attention of the ministers of the six countries. "Above all the formulas must be clarified", he added. Shevardnadze also said that he and Baker will have time to work on problems at the Vienna talks since the Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow will be continued on 13 September. There will be a meeting between the U.S. secretary of state and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Replying to a question on the U.S. side's "new limit" for the number of troops in Europe, Eduard Shevardnadze stated that he and James Baker will be discussing this topic. However he refused to cite a figure that would suit the Soviet side. Recalling that back in Ottawa, "this matter was discussed and figures were cited", the Soviet minister said: "Maybe we will manage to maintain them".

The minister was asked whether he will be paying a visit to Iraq. "There are no such plans as yet", he replied.

Arriving at the USSR Foreign Ministry villa soon after Shevardnadze, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker named among the topics to be discussed prior to the start of tomorrow's "two-plus-four" meeting matters relating to the withdrawal of troops, and also to "what can and cannot happen on the territory of the GDR". He also expressed the hope that he will manage to discuss arms control problems with Eduard Shevardnadze.

Agreement Reached on Financing Troop Withdrawal

AU1009165990 Paris AFP in English 1636 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 10 (AFP) — The Soviet Union and West Germany on Monday [10 September] reached agreement on financing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from German soil, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said.

"We are no longer disputing the figures," Mr. Shevardnadze told journalists here. "The agreement in principle has been reached.... We have reached a decision of compromise, a reasonable decision."

Mr. Shevardnadze declined to give the precise figure that West Germany will pay to finance the Soviet military withdrawal from East Germany.

"What is important is that we have agreed," the foreign minister said.

As of Sunday the two countries apparently remained far apart on the cost to West Germany of financing the withdrawal, including the construction or paying for the contruction of housing for troops returning to the Soviet Union.

Der Spiegel magazine said Moscow was asking for 18 billion Deutsche marks ($11.2 billion) over a four-year period, while West German Finance Minister Theo Waigel was reportedly proposing seven billion marks ($4.3 billion).

Mr. Shevardnadze made his comments Monday to correspondents of press agencies of the six countries to take part in two-plus-four talks here Wednesday—the two Germanies and the World War II allies: the United States, Soviet Union, France and Britain.

Gorbachev, Bush Invited to Unification Ceremony

PM1009133390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent Ye. Grigoryev: "Calculations Before Unification"]

[Text] Bonn, 9 Sep—The process of Germany's unification is approaching completion. The unified German state will emerge 3 October. Bonn is preparing the scenario for the ceremony pegged to this event which will take place in the capital of the united Germany—Berlin. A spokesman for the federal government has reported that Federal Chancellor H. Kohl has had a telephone conversation with USSR and U.S. Presidents M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush and invited them to take part in the forthcoming historic event. Similar invitations will be sent to the French president and British prime minister.

At the same time work is continuing on the preparation of treaties and agreements, which stem from the need for Germany unity because they are to be signed between the Soviet Union and the unified Germany.

In particular the round of talks of the sides' groups of experts for drafting a treaty on the terms for the stay and planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from German territory ended here yesterday. According to FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher the concluding talks are already under way on the "grand treaty," that is the fundamental political document designed to define the partnership-based and good-neighborly nature of all-embracing cooperation between the USSR and Germany. A treaty on wide-scale economic cooperation is already prepared. In principle the articles have been agreed for an agreement defining transitional measures connected with Germany's unification—to be more precise it should regulate the financial and other material questions of the presence of our Western group of forces and their gradual withdrawal to their homeland over several years.

But it is precisely in connection with this agreement, which is usually called the "transitional treaty" here, that the sides have so far been unable to reach a common denominator as regards its financial volumes. Naturally our country should not incur additional expenses, especially not the multibillion expenses arising in connection with accounting in West German currency and the our troops' return home within such a tight deadline, which only recently was not even being suggested. Realizing this, many representatives of the FRG Government, beginning with its head, have stated at their own initiative their readiness to render broad assistance to this process in particular by the extensive construction of apartment blocks for the families of returning servicemen and by measures for their qualification and requalification in civilian professions.

Nonetheless, as the West German press notes, the federal ministry of finances has so far chosen a restrictive position. The sum is not being named. But it is noted that if the Soviet side's calculations have in mind a two-figure sum in billions of marks, the German side has in mind a one-figure sum.

An important question. Soviet wishes are objectively founded. They have nothing superfluous. It is believed here that we will not manage without the political agreement of this question at summit level. Some people in Bonn are in no hurry, believing, as FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE notes, that "the pressure of time will influence Moscow." One wants to hope that this is merely a newspaper comment.

It must be supposed that the problems arising in bilateral relations between our countries will be successfully resolved on a realistic basis which has recently been making it possible to count on their progress and partnership nature. People here await with great attention and interest the forthcoming sitting of the "two plus four" group in Moscow at foreign minister level. Bonn political circles believe it should complete work on the settlement of the external aspects of building German unity.

Commentaries View Future Ties With United Germany

Costs of Unification Pondered

PM1109092890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "Based on Trust"]

[Text] Bonn—On the eve of the "two-plus-four" group's session in Moscow, which will take place 12 September and is expected to be the last, intensive talks are being held on questions of bilateral Soviet-German relations. In accordance with the decisions of principle adopted in the summer, a new treaty basis for future cooperation between the Soviet Union and the united Germany is being developed.

A draft treaty on the development of broad-scale cooperation between our countries in the sphere of the economy, industry, science, and technology, has already been agreed. In the opinion of S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission, who headed our delegation, the talks went successfully.

The unification of Germany and the introduction of the West German mark on GDR territory inevitably pose important questions of an economic, financial, and other material nature. FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher has noted more than once that the future of Soviet-German cooperation must be something more than simply the sum of the USSR's relations with the FRG and the GDR. There is no doubt but that the united Germany will be our biggest Western partner in the economic sphere.

Sometimes claims appear fleetingly in the press here that the USSR is seeking to derive material benefit from the unification of Germany. Whereas in actual fact the Soviet side's general approach in these questions is that we do not want an extra pfennig, but neither do we want this process to entail unjustified economic expenses and losses for the Soviet Union. This applies to the troops as well.

The Soviet Union has maintained and will maintain its Western Group of Forces itself. However, whereas before their annual maintenance cost us, figuratively speaking, 5.6 million tonnes of oil, as a result of the introduction of the West German mark 16-17 million tonnes of "black gold" would be required for this purpose. Thus the issue is only that unification should not lead to additional costs.

The German side acknowledges the justification for posing these questions. The federal chancellor and ministers of the Bonn cabinet have more than once stated their commitment to financial and practical assistance toward the construction of housing in the USSR for the families of servicemen returning to their homeland. The German Government is ready in principle to help also in the professional retraining and instruction of our servicemen in civil specialities.

Partnership with us opens up many opportunities for the Germans to apply their efforts and capital. It could help us substantially in successfully transferring the economy onto a market footing. Quite apart from the fact that good relations between the USSR and a united Germany, based on trust and cooperation, are important for the creation of stability in Europe.

Two-Plus-Four Talks Assessed

LD1009161590 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS news analyst Oleg Sergeyev]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The Moscow meeting of the six foreign ministers within the two-plus-four negotiation framework holds a promise of finalising the draft treaty on a German settlement following the unification of the two German states.

It is noted in the diplomatic community that the six looked for and have found mutually acceptable external parameters for a settlement of a German issue which has for decades been an irritant in European and world affairs. The six have accumulated valuable political experience which will certainly come in handy in the future.

The positions of the six negotiators were very rigid and differed greatly at the outset of the negotiations, but later the sides mustered their efforts to head towards a rapprochement. The viewpoint prevailed based on the recognition of the need for a worthy and reliable settlement of the complex problems put forth by German unification.

Already in the early phases, the six set their sights at preparing a single comprehensive final document, thus circumventing the biggest shallow in the flow. Earlier proposals made by some Western participants in the negotiations indicated the possibility of producing a light-weight document ignoring some very important external aspects of German unification to the detriment of other participants' interests. Fortunately, those proposals were soon discarded.

The actual pace of German unification made the six accelerate their own search for new approaches, discard some of their stale stereotypes and come up with decisions to the benefit of all parties.

The July meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl played a major role in the process. The agreements reached during the Gorbachev-Kohl meeting proceeded from a carefully tested balance of interests, taking into account the desired and the possible and marked a decisive breakthrough in a settlement of both military-political questions and all other foreign aspects of German unification.

In summing up the results of the two-plus-four talks, it should be stressed that all parties made their significant contributions to the success of the process and to what can be termed their common success.

The constructive role played by the representatives of the two German states cannot be overlooked in discussing the efforts made by the six. It is now certain that the Germans have thoroughly studied the lessons their past taught them.

Having opted for a single German state, East and West Germans made it perfectly clear their readiness to realise their choice in accord with their neighbours and all European countries without violating European stability, security and peace.

The final draft treaty on a settlement around Germany makes a record of all this in a binding legal form.

FRG Plans for GDR Army Viewed

*90SV0018A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5*

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent S. Zyubanov: "Wearing the Bundeswehr Uniform?"]

[Text]**Berlin, 3 Sep—With 3 October coming closer and closer, excitement is growing in the little town of Strausberg near Berlin. For the high command of the GDR National People's Army (NPA) that has been headquartered there since the 1950's this day does not only mean the unification of Germany, it also means the last day of the Army's existence.**

After unification the 100,000-strong NPA will be cut by half and will join the Bundeswehr as the "'East' Territorial Group." Their strategically important hardware is already being sent to the Soviet Union.

The commander of the unusual "army within the army" has already been appointed. He is the current operations chief of staff of the Bonn Ministry of Defense, Three Star General Jorg Shoenbaum, 53. In 1982, for his "outstanding business qualities," former Defense Minister Manfred Woerner appointed him his aide-de-camp. Since then he has had a brilliant career. Now Schoenbaum has to unite several thousand of the leading NPA officers into an efficient general staff and start a transformation of a once hostile army that will be the most unusual in military history.

All the key positions in the new general staff will be given, of course, to Bundeswehr officers. Former NPA commanders, who will not be retired, by the way, will have to wear Bundeswehr uniforms.

According to the FRG Ministry of Defense, the Bundeswehr will include only those NPA units that correspond to its own structure. Other units will be disbanded. The "East" Territorial Group will differ in one respect: While being part of the Bundeswehr in its organization, it will not be subordinate to NATO.

Economic Issues Considered

*90UF0511A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 5*

[A. Semenov report published under the rubric, "Problems of a United Germany": "How To Pass a 'Trabant' on a Curve"]

[Text] *Bonn, 31 August (TASS)—"The circulation is irregular, the heart is erratic, many vital organs are not functioning, the state of the patient is precarious"—this diagnosis of the GDR economy has been made by Wolfgang Roth, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany faction in the Bundestag and chairman of a working group on economic policy. He observed at a press conference held here that at the present time more than 1.4 million GDR citizens are out of work and that this number will grow rapidly. The member of parliament demanded that Bonn immediately draw up and implement a program of emergency economic assistance for the GDR.*

The multitude of small, unprepossessing Trabants on the highways of the Federal Republic is a sign of the times. A year ago even, the TASS correspondent in Bonn writes in his report for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, when I was in this country on a short assignment, it would have been hard to even imagine that these GDR-made plastic automobiles would be driving as equals along the West German autobahns, the sight of them alone involuntarily irritating the drivers of chic Mercedes, nippy Volkswagens, powerful BMW's and such. The little Trabant bowls along, proudly not giving way, as if emphasizing: I am the same as you, it is just my appearance that is not all that successful, but I have a right to go where I want and in the manner in which I please. Quite so... Only one and the same thing is always happening on the roads. Any handsome Mercedes, and not just a Mercedes, will camp on the tail of the little Trabant in such a way that the poor neighbor—sometimes out of respect, but sometimes also in silent irritation—is forced to move to the right to let his more powerful colleague through.

The recovery of any economy whose previous foundation was an administrative-command system is a very complex and extraordinarily painful process. As far as the GDR is concerned, it should, it might seem, be easier for it than the rest. After all, the kindly uncle from Bonn has powerful medicine—the West German mark—but shock therapy is being preferred, it is true.

Here is an opinion typical of FRG business circles: The GDR should join the FRG as quickly as possible to ensure that the investors of capital have a guaranteed legal framework for their activity. In this case the republic's economy will be rendered purposeful assistance. The federal government should ensure that the Berlin department for transferring state-run enterprises to private hands be guided by the principles of the market economy. It is essential to firmly insist on state-owned plants and factories being privatized as quickly as possible.

The transfer to private hands is the direct way to an increase in unemployment. A sad joke, well-enough known here, is making the rounds in the GDR: The lines have disappeared at the stores, but have reappeared outside the employment offices. According to certain figures, the army of unemployed in the republic increases by 25,000 weekly. Bonn is expressing sympathy, but sees no solution other than making the practice of part-time work and retraining more prevalent.

In my view, Bonn is perfectly justified in believing that the right to labor as we understand it is absolutely not within the contours of a future German constitution. In the opinion of that same K.-O. Stiehl [phrase as published], no state in the world has yet managed to guarantee its citizens full employment. Real, not pseudostatistical employment. As with us also, most likely, in the GDR, local experts estimate, for example, one out of every three working persons is employed in production only formally. The enterprises and various offices are involuntarily assuming the functions of insurance companies. With inflated staffs and paying people money that has not been earned, under the conditions of the market economy such enterprises will be prime candidates for bankruptcy.

It has to be recognized that even after 3 October there will in fact be two separate German states. Economically, of course. Forty years of domination by the administrative-command system cannot pass without trace. For this reason, as it is believed on the banks of the Rhine, the compatriots from "over there" will initially have to put up with the fact that for identical work they will receive approximately half as much as their colleagues from the West. The statement of Till Necker [name as published], chairman of the German Industry Association: "If GDR citizens do not wish to remain unemployed, they have to understand that they will be getting for the same work less than in the West" may be described as cold comfort.

And this is just one of the hundreds of examples of the kinds of problems which are having to be tackled in Bonn currently. Let us take civil servants or government officials. In the FRG these are a privileged class enjoying extensive rights. It is not that simple to dismiss a local government official, and the title of civil servant is conferred practically for life. This is not the case in the GDR. But what, then, does one do with the thousands of ministry employees from the GDR? The good fortune of finding a job in an all-German ministry will smile on few of them. FRG Foreign Minister Hans- Dietrich Genscher, for example, believes that only 300 of the 3,000 employees of the analogous ministry of the GDR would find an application for their capabilities in his department. The picture is approximately the same in respect of other departments also. What is to be done? Retrain? But what if one is over 50? And the wages of a government official here are five times higher than for his colleague "over there," even if this colleague is among the personnel of the Berlin office, for example, of that same all-German ministry. "It should not be like this," those who are campaigning for social justice here say, "but no other way would help either."

Distrust of United Germany Noted

90UF0505A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 31 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by K. Aleksandrov: "Where Are You Looking, Germany?"]

[Text] *When they published in the issue of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA for 5 May of this year a letter from G.I. Kovalenko, a Muscovite who is a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, "This Seems Dangerous to Me," which spoke about the possible political consequences of the unification of Germany, the editors, of course, assumed that it would evoke a lively response from the readers. But the flow of letters to the editors has become so large and the opinions expressed in them so deep and interesting that it has become obvious: Dear readers, a separate discussion is needed for this complicated subject.*

It seems important to us that this problem is bothering people of various generations equally. In spite of the turbulent changes in our domestic life which it would seem would completely occupy our minds and hearts, the Soviet people are following the processes between what are still the two Germanys with simply rapt attention and are trying to interpret them and assess them based both on their own experience in life and on discussions with friends and relatives who have been through death and suffering at the front and have suffered all the hardships of everyday life in the rear. Behind all this stands what has come to be called the historical memory of the people. Almost 50 years have passed since the beginning of the war but this bitter memory of ours to this day will not let us talk dispassionately about subjects related to the war without reliving the destinies of the 27 million of our compatriots who were victims of it. Can one really blame us therefore for reacting so sharply and even painfully to the events in European politics which have brought the process of restoration of a unified and powerful German state to completion? And can we all at once eliminate the waves of emotion that are awakened by these events which are fed by this same historical memory which will not allow our veterans to sleep peacefully to this day—and they are not the only ones.

A detailed and sincere letter came to the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA editorial offices from the village of Kosmachevo in Kaluga Oblast from a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, Pavel Stepanovich Goncharenko. It is clear from the letter that the former regimental scout is pained about the country's past and present. One gets the feeling that Pavel Stepanovich is not one of those who "saw the light all of a sudden" in April 1985 and who is now swelling the ranks of the inveterate "restructurers." As early as the 1980's, when he encountered the mismanagement and unfairness of the Tyumen Oblast leaders, he wrote an angry letter to P. Bogomyakov, first secretary of the Tyumen CPSU Obkom [Oblast Committee], and stopped paying his membership dues, for which he was expelled from the party. With the beginning of perestroyka when, as we know, many people nonchalantly began to turn in their party cards Pavel Stepanovich Goncharenko, forgetting his indignation, tried to get back into the party and again encountered the bureaucratism of the apparatus. But that is not what the veteran's letter was about. It is filled with serious concern about the danger of our being transformed into a nation of faceless people who do not remember their heritage, who look on calmly as the memory of the generation who died in the fire of war fades into nonexistence. "In 1961," he writes, "I decided to visit the graves of my comrades in the regiment in Belorussia. And I was horrified when I could barely find the traces of these graves. In Bykhov, excuse me, I 'taught a lesson' to a complacent military commissar in whose zone, in the village of Selets-Kolopiv, right beside the highway, pigs were rooting around the grave of 800 dead heroes. And to my question: 'Where is your conscience?' the military commissar mockingly insulted the dead."

There are many other bitterly confessional lines like this in the letter. When you read them you become aware that with his letter the veteran is appealing for a cleansing with the truth. For from his viewpoint the most alarming sign of our times is the return of the threat of totalitarianism to the world: "In the history of mankind two cancers appeared simultaneously—Hitler and Stalin. And the world got rid of them almost at the same time. But both of them have left their legacies. Today in order to have no fear of the reunification of Germany we must join with the world community and irreversibly break with the maniacs who defend the rebirth of national socialism." It seems that this is an important conclusion of the letter—the fruit of the serious reflections of a person who has preserved, along with the ability to take a mercilessly critical look at reality, the ability to thoroughly analyze what is taking place, giving it a highly patriotic assessment.

Many letters like this one are sent to the editorial offices. On behalf of a group of veterans of the Great Patriotic War A.D. Matveyev from Gorokhovets in Vladimir Oblast writes with concern about the fact that the haste with which Bonn is forcing the reunification processes causes serious misgivings. What can be done—after all the entire recent history of Germany is filled with periods which were by no means marked by peace and tranquility. This, incidentally, is discussed in detail in a letter from Dmitriy Vasilyevich Oskin from Temirtau in the Kazakh SSR. "There is no doubt about the fact that Germany should be unified," he writes. "But the German question is an especially burning issue in European history. I was 11 years old when the war began. During peace time there were 50 homes in our village near Ryazan and only seven were left after the war. This is why I have no faith in the Germans."

This subject—the lack of faith in the assurances coming from Bonn that the reunited Germany will eschew the idea of revenge—is touched upon in the majority of the letters. This too, apparently, is a manifestation of our historical memory. People of the older generation write about this with special concern. For example, pensioner Koroleva from Zavolzhye in Gorkiy Oblast points out directly in her letter that "there is no guarantee that no new danger will arise from a reunited Germany—not only for us but for all of Europe."

"I lost my father and two brothers in the Great Patriotic War. So can I be sure that after the reunification there will be no smoldering hotbed of another world war in the reunited Germany?"—this question is asked by V.V. Bychkov from the village of Ugolnoye in Belgorod Oblast.

The common idea that the "German problem" bothers only those whose destinies were affected by the last war is refuted by a letter sent to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA from Leninabad Oblast in Tajikistan from school girl Z.O. Takirova: "I am only 17 years old," she writes, "but I feel like I was at the front. Although I am familiar with the war from books and from my grandmother's stories, I thought about the letter from G.I. Kovalenko, 'It seems dangerous to me' and especially his words 'others will come to replace them' when speaking about Hitler and his men." When the alarm expressed in the veteran's letter was experienced by the Tajik school girl, she appealed to her parents: "Please pay attention to this person's words!"

The pain of the losses caused to our people by the war is so deep that even a half century later in the awareness of the present generation the threat of a repetition of the terror of the Nazi invasion is a subject for real alarm! What are we to do with this alarm and how are we to dispel the misgivings of those who think that the Germans still have the spirit of revenge and that the current German reunification is nothing but a precursor of another universal holocaust?

After P.S. Goncharenko's statement that has already been quoted, attention is drawn to lines from a letter from A.G. Porotov, who is from Ufa: "The most real guarantee that the sad history of world wars will not be repeated would be the withdrawal of the reunified Germany from NATO and the assignment of a neutral status to it. The new Germany has a completely adequate police force to maintain order within the country." D.V. Oskin from Temirtau, who has already been mentioned, agrees with Comrade Porotov. "My soul will not rest in peace," he writes, "until the Germans of the future Germany reject the army and destroy the entire military industry, and Germany issues a law that metes out punishment for propagandizing war, revenge, and changing of borders."

These are the judgments expressed by readers of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA concerning one of the most complex problems of modern international policy. This is a question about which politicians and military men, legal experts and economists, scholars and journalists are fighting. Sharing the concern of the Soviet people for a peaceful future of the renewed Europe, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA will attentively follow the complicated processes surrounding the problem of German unity and conduct a candid discussion of this subject in which no small role will be played by your letters, dear readers.

'International Situation' Program on Gulf Crisis

LD0709134790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 7 Sep 90

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by Konstantin Patsyuk, all-Union radio foreign political commentator, with TASS Observer Vladimir Bogachev, and colleagues Igor Surguchev, Sergey Pravdin, and Yuriy Isayev]

[Excerpts] [Patsyuk] These days, the words Middle East, Persian Gulf, Iraq, and Kuwait are never off the lips of television and radio commentators of many countries of the world and are constantly mentioned in broadcasts and publications. Every day, U.S. television shows a map of the Persian Gulf region with squares indicating the locations where U.S. ships, aircraft, and ground troops are deployed. The number of these squares on the map is increasing day by day. And it must be said that the increase in the number of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia and the inflexible position of Iraq which refuses to implement the decision of the UN Security Council and withdraw its troops from Kuwait inspire pessimism in many political observers.

Concern about the development of events in the Persian Gulf is also being expressed by our listeners. In particular, architect Marina Viktorovna Savitskaya from Moscow asks how great is the risk of war breaking out between the United States and Iraq over Kuwait. We have asked Vladimir Bogachev, TASS observer on military questions, to reply to this question.

[Bogachev] The situation in the Persian Gulf region is really becoming more and more explosive. There are 265,000 Iraqi soldiers concentrated in Kuwait and the adjacent regions. Over 70,000 U.S. servicemen have already been moved to Saudi Arabia. In the Persian Gulf, itself, and in the Red Sea, the naval vessels of the United States and its allies have received the order to examine cargo vessels en route with cargo for Iraq. Iraqi fighters are on standing patrol along the border with Saudi Arabia. The U.S. military asserts that now there are sufficient troops concentrated in the Persian Gulf to rebuff any attack by Iraq on Saudi Arabia. Nonetheless, the inflow of U.S. troops is continuing and evidently their number will be brought up to 250,000.

[Patsyuk] And so, in this connection, can one say that in the Persian Gulf region, the danger has increased of a war breaking out accidentally?

[Bogachev] One cannot rule out such a possibility. However, U.S. military specialists agree that if a war breaks out in the region of Kuwait, it will be the result of the deliberate actions by one of the sides, by the deliberate manipulation of some minor incident.

[Patsyuk] Thus, the unleashing of war could be provoked?

[Bogachev] Quite correct. (J. Kaminski) from the Washington Center for Strategic and International Studies, for example, considers that the United States could provoke Iraqi fighters patrolling the air space in the Persian Gulf region into a clash, or begin an attack in the event of one of the U.S. hostages in Iraq being killed. U.S. President Bush has been presented with a report on probable losses in a war with Iraq—20,000 to 30,000 Americans killed and wounded.

[Patsyuk] But, all the same, can one consider that war in the Persian Gulf region is becoming inevitable.

[Bogachev] Of course, Konstantin Nikolayevich, one cannot come to that conclusion. It is possible and necessary to settle the conflict in the Persian Gulf and to restore the independence of Kuwait by political means, alone. USSR President Gorbachev in particular stressed the role that could be played in a peace settlement by the Arab countries which are particularly interested in untying this dangerous knot.

[Patsyuk] And what role could be played by the UN in a peaceful settlement of the conflict? Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, on his return from his recent rip to countries of the Middle East, expressed deep disappointment with the results of the series of talks with the Iraqi representatives.

[Bogachev] Yes, up to now he has not managed to achieve success in implementing the Security Council decision on Iraq's aggression against Kuwait. However, it would seem that the UN has far from exhausted its possibilities in resolving the conflict by peaceful means. Over recent years, the prestige of this organization has increased considerably and it has accumulated experience of effective peace-making activity.

[Patsyuk] In general, are you optimistic about the prospects for settling the conflict? During the recent meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet's International Affairs Committee, the situation in the Persian Gulf was the subject of heated discussions. Some of the participants, in particular, expressed concern about the increase in the United State's military potential in this region.

[Bogachev] This concern does exist. According to the British newspaper SUNDAY CORRESPONDENT, the United States and its NATO allies intend to keep their armed forces in the Persian Gulf region even if Kuwait's sovereignty is restored. Army General Lobov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact participant states, expressing his personal opinion, pointed out that the permanent preservation of a vast contingent of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf region could violate the existing balance of forces between the USSR and the United States, and this would undermine the Vienna talks on reducing conventional weapons in Europe.

[Patsyuk] In general, this is the personal point of view of a Soviet general. Are there any other assessments of the United State's military presence in the Middle East? Thus, in the West, note was taken of the statement made at a briefing by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the U.S. Foreign Ministry, who stated that he did not see a direct link between the Vienna talks and the increase in U.S. Armed Forces in the Persian Gulf region.

[Bogachev] Yes, that is really so, Konstantin Nikolayevich. Gerasimov stressed that the presence of U.S. troops in that region had been provoked by the actions of Iraq and that they were there at the invitation of Saudi Arabia to defend it from possible aggression.

[Patsyuk] Vladimir Ivanovich, appeals have appeared in the Soviet press and in particular IZVESTIYA for joint actions by the USSR and the United States to rebuff the aggression in the Persian Gulf. What can you say on this subject?

[Bogachev] The USSR is already cooperating actively with many countries with the aim of preventing the conflict in the Persian Gulf from growing into an armed clash. We call on all countries to cooperate in the search for a political settlement. However, I do not think that IZVESTIYA observer, Stanislav Kondrashev, when he speaks of joint actions by the USSR and the United States, had in mind joint military actions by the two great powers.

[Patsyuk] I agree with you. As is known, at present, the attention of the world public has been attracted to the forthcoming meeting between the presidents of the USSR and the United States in Helsinki.

[Bogachev] There is no doubt that the situation in the Middle East will occupy an important place in the talks. In recent years, Soviet-U.S. summits have promoted the lowering of tension in international relations and rolled back the threat of war. One would like to hope that the Helsinki meeting will be no exception in this regard.

[Patsyuk] Thank you, Vladimir Ivanovich. [passage omitted]

[Patsuk] The letters from Mikhail Timofeyevich Bolshakov from Kazan, Nikolay Nikolayevich Volklonevskiy from the village of Lipovka, Saratov oblast, and Mikhail Mikhaylovich Stepenkov, from Mogilev are permeated with bewilderment and with the pain in their hearts. And this is no surprise for the letters concern the increasing number of cases of the destruction in Poland of monuments of Lenin and of obelisks in honor of Soviet servicemen who fell fighting for that country's freedom and other manifestations of disrespect for the USSR.

I have asked my colleague Igor Surguchev to express his opinion on the theme raised by our listener.

[Surguchev] First of all, I would like to say that just like the writers of the above-mentioned letters, I experience feelings of pain and bitterness that anti-Soviet moods are growing in neighbouring Poland. This is precisely the interpretation that I am inclined to give to the far from rare cases of destruction of monuments of Lenin and of servicemen of the Soviet Army and also cases of the desecration of the graves of Soviet soldiers. In my opinion, this is no longer individual actions by extremists or hooligan elements. This is more like a campaign being conducted with the blessing of the official authorities.

Such an impression is far from groundless if one recalls the contents and the manner of recent utterances about the USSR from official rostrums in Poland when the 70th anniversary of the victory over the Red Army in the battle near Warsaw was being marked there. No matter what explanation was given for the actions insulting the feelings of Soviet people, the initiators of these and their protectors cannot but understand that such actions exacerbate the atmosphere of Soviet-Polish relations.

In the letters from Comrades Bolshakov, Volklonevskiy, and Stepenkov, one can hear the bewildered question: Why is all of this happening in a fraternal country for which, as their letters point out, the USSR has done many good things. I shall try to reply to this. One should not forget that Stalinism, the administrative command and repressive regime which existed in our country, caused much grief to the Poles, too. It suppressed their strivings for genuine independence and democracy. At present in our Western neighbor—just as in our country, by the way—one can see the reaction of rejection of the gloomy past.

Unfortunately, thanks to the efforts of certain forces in Poland, this is being given a nationalist and anti-Soviet character. Attempts are being made to suggest to the Poles that there has been nothing good at all in the history of Soviet-Polish relations. However, good things did exist. These were the comradeship in arms in the difficult struggle against fascism and the Soviet people's selfless help to the Polish people in the restoration of post-war Poland.

So why, then, only go on and on about the negative aspects as has become fashionable on the other side of the Bug. I think that now it is necessary to look ahead and to take forward into the future the good things that there have been in our common history. If in the past Soviet people and the Poles suffered together under the oppression of unpopular dictatorships and, one can say, under one common dictatorship, then now the genuinely independent Poland and the USSR which is building a democratic law-governed state should be together all the more. That is the opinion, for example, of the Polish professor Aleksandr Zamojski, whose letter was published in IZVESTIYA a few days ago. The ties of friendship between Poland and the USSR, he writes, should not be destroyed. On the contrary, they should be strengthened and developed. I am sure that many sensible Poles think likewise.

But is this the direction in which those people are travelling who are pulling down monuments of Lenin and of Soviet soldiers and are closing the cemetries of our soldiers who gave their lives for the freedom of Poland: It is bitter and hurtful to see how on the wave of renewal, attempts are being made, and not without success, to efface from the consciousness of Polish citizens the memory of the liberating mission of the USSR in World War II and our joint struggle against Hitlerism. And Lenin, whose name is connected with the restoration of the independence of the Polish state—what offense has he committed against the Poles, Comrade Volklonevskiy reasonably asks.

Even if the demolition of monuments of Ilyich can be explained as a rejection of communist ideology, when actions against the monuments to our servicemen, their cemeteries, and tombs can hardly be explained in this way. I am far from the thought of trying to teach the Poles how to treat such scuptural and architectural constructions. In the final analysis, that is their internal affair. But we have the complete right to express our attitude towards these events. [passage omitted]

'Observers Roundtable' Views Week's Events

LD0909201390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 9 Sep 90

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, member of the editorial board of ZA RUBEZHOM (ABROAD) weekly; Sergey Mikhailovich Golyakov, political observer for NOVOYE VREMYA magazine; and presenter Valentin Gubernatorov]

[Excerpts] [Gubernatorov] Good day, Comrades. We are starting our traditional Sunday program, "International Observers at the Roundtable." Its presenter, Valentin Gubernatorov, is at the microphone. Also with me in the studio is Dmitriy Antonovich Volskiy, a member of the editorial board of the ZA RUBEZHOM weekly, and Sergey Mikahylovich Golyakov, political observer for NOVOYE VREMYA magazine. As our program takes place, a meeting between USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and U.S. President Bush is underway in Helsinki. For the moment we have no detailed reports of how the talks are proceeding. We can only say that, judging by initial information, the range of problems being discussed there is very broad. I shall list some of them, which were named even before the meeting started, by Fitzwater, President Bush's press secretary, and Ignatenko, press secretary to President Gorbachev. These are: the situation in the Near East, and that in Cambodia and Afghanistan, and questions about ways of accelerating the talks on conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

[Golyakov] I do not think, Valentin Petrovich, that the meeting will fail to give attention to the matter of Soviet-U.S. relations. After all, to judge from certain reports, the opinion is spreading in the United States and other western countries that chaos is allegedly breaking out in the Soviet Union. What is meant is the deterioration of the economic situation, and the weakening and confusion of authority, and some even write of an approaching famine. Information of this kind has naturally somewhat cooled the earnest desire of American and Western European entrepreneurs to set up business ties with Soviet partners.

[Volskiy] All this is true, of course, but I do think, all the same, that in spite of the importance of problems of Soviet-U.S. bilateral relations and European affairs, both presidents will be devoting their main attention to the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Sadly this is not subsiding. On the contrary, it is acquiring an ever more urgent character, particularly following the latest incidents. On the other hand, it has to be said that the joint discussion of these problems by the presidents of the Soviet Union and the United States is in itself an unusual step. To a significant extent it reflects the progress that has emerged in mutual relations between Moscow and Washington in recent months. Graphic testimony to these relations, which could be described as close cooperation, is the joint action of our two countries to resolve the conflict situation in the Near East, although there are different approaches to this important matter—and no doubt we will talk about this later on. In order to confirm this idea I should like to cite the words of American Senator Robert Dole who visited Moscow recently. He said, and I quote: The Soviet Union is opposed to hasty action in the Persian Gulf and is endeavoring to use all available means except the use of armed force to try and obtain a settlement by treaty and to see if economic efforts will work. In an interview with the CBS Television Company, the same Senator Dole said it was essential for the Americans that other countries too began to put some funds into the common stock, as he put it, to prevent it appearing that the Americans were merely demonstrating their strength in the Persian Gulf.

[Golyakov] In this connection I should like to point out that resolving the crisis by using military force is not a very popular measure among the Americans themselves. I refer to the results of a public opinion poll conducted in the northeastern states of the country by the BOSTON GLOBE. The information from that poll indicates that only 27 percent of Americans favor the United States starting a war with Iraq over Kuwait.

[Guberantov] I should not like our listeners to gain the impression that President Bush and his team want an armed conflict. Here is what U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT magazine has to say in its latest issue: According to the estimates of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and the U.S. National Security Council, the article notes, American losses in a large-scale war with Iraq, taking into account the possibility of Baghdad using chemical weapons, could reach from 20,000-30,000. Citing Bush's close entourage, the weekly stresses that it is precisely these estimates that have obliged the U.S. President to incline rather toward looking for diplomatic ways of settling the crisis. I think that Bush's meeting with Gorbachev can also be put in the framework of this desire to end the conflict by diplomatic means. However, citing what was said by a highly placed representative of the administration, the magazine points out that if diplomatic efforts do not produce results in one month, Bush could review his decision to reject the use of military force. In the event of military action starting, the analysts believe, the U.S. President will be threatened by a mass growth of displeasure amongst the public which, for the moment, is supporting his line in the Persian Gulf. The latest polls carried out in the United States show that more than 70 percent of the population suport that line for the moment. However, political science professor at Rochester University (John Miller) writes in the WASHINGTON POST that if would be difficult for the public to reconcile itself to the fact that young Americans should start dying for the sake of stable oil prices. You can't put on a gravestone that someone died for the sake of a barrel of oil at $25.

[Volskiy] I don't think it is fortuitous to touch upon the matter of the distribution of incomes from Arab oil in this respect. What concept does Saddam Husayn put forward? He claims that Arab oil does not belong to individual emirates or kingdoms but to the entire Arab nation, and returns on it should be distributed accordingly. This logic is meeting a certain response, primarily in the poorest Arab countries. This is one of the reasons why a fairly considerable proportion of the Arab states, eight out of 21, refuse to condemn the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. Aggression, however, remains aggression and the majority of Arab countries, along with the entire world community, demand that it be halted and that the liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi dominance remain the basis of a settlement to the conflict, along with the release of the detained foreign hostages; such attention is basically being seen in Baghdad from a mediaeval standpoint. It was a practice used in the remote past, at the dawn of human civilization.

[Golyakov] But, Dmitriy Antonovich, even some western observers are now claiming that these hostages are practically the only factor preventing the start of military action against Iraq.

[Volskiy] It is hard to agree with this since, for example, even Margaret Thatcher has made it understood fairly openly that Britain would be prepared, together with the United States obviously, to take the risk even if it threatened the life of Britons in Iraq and Kuwait. The start of a major war is prohibited by something quite different, on which we have already spoken: the possibility of great losses and lack of confidence in the ultimate result. The United States and its allies are still not ready for military action at the moment. It is only at the end of September that the transfer of 100,000-150,000 American soldiers and approximately 17,000 soldiers from Arab countries—Egypt, Morocco, and Syria—to the Gulf region will be completed. That is what is seen as the minimum needed to conduct military action against the one million-strong Iraqi army, even given the superiority of the U.S. Air Force in the air. It is well known that an Air Force on its own has never won any war. Still more important, and natural and legitimate too, is the fear of the economic consequences of possible military action in the Gulf. It would lead not only to an oil crisis but also to a worldwide economic crisis. There are predictions of an increase in oil prices of up to $50 a barrel. At, or before the start of the current events, it was $14. One South American expert has even said that in the event of war, oil prices could rise to the fantastic and unprecedented sum of $100 a barrel.

[Gubernatorov] You know there is another view, that such a turn of events would be to the advantage of the Soviet Union; it has already been calculated, for instance, that we could gain up to $20 billion in extra profits simply from a moderate increase in oil prices.

[Volskiy] These figures are given, but the main thing lies elsewhere. The main thing in my view is that a decline in the West would have an extremely negative impact on our own economy. If the industrial western countries, like Japan, say, might withstand it, this would be a good deal more complicated for our ravaged economy and fraught with very grave consequences, because it would be difficult to expect any major assistance from the western countries in that event, and we would even lose those very modest markets that exist for our goods abroad; oil, of course, excepted. All of this would hold up the transition to the market economy, and without that even the unexpected oil dollars would vanish into the sands, as has already been the case in the recent past.

[Golyakov] It seems to me that here we need to take another circumstance into account. The large striking force of U.S. Armed Forces concentrated in the Gulf is stationed close to our borders, and some see this as a direct threat to Soviet borders.

[Volskiy] Some people here really do see it like that, but it seems to me that there is no justification for looking at the situation in this way. I think this is an outmoded view and that it reflects and pays tribute to old confrontational thinking. The most important thing lies elsewhere. The most important thing is that we and the United States are no longer enemies. This is not easy for everyone to realize, but we have to wean ourselves away from these old notions. We will have to realize it. I would even go further. In countering Iraqi aggression—we spoke of this at the start of our conversation—we and the United States are trying to act jointly, but we should not be acting like two superpowers who want to impose their will, but like members of the world community who are acting according to the will of the United Nations. This will has been expressed by the Security Council, which has already adopted five resolutions on the Persian Gulf. Of course, we have different approaches to the United States. They are far from coinciding in everything. We correctly noted this at the start of our conversation today, but we should not fail to note certain common interests as well. The Americans have an interest in stability in the region, because they get oil from there. Our interest in stability in the region comes from the fact that it is right next to our own borders. Thus, there is already common ground and it is an interest that is shared by most members of the international community who are similarly attempting to defuse the explosive character of the situation in the region.

[Gubernatorov] [passage omitted] The situation in Europe is indeed changing, and in that connection I should like to touch on one more subject which at first glance might not appear as topical as, say, events in the Persian Gulf or the unification of Germany as such, but one which is of very great importance for the development of Europe in the near future. And not for nothing, it would seem, are President Gorbachev and Bush discussing it at their meeting today. I have in mind the Vienna CFE talks. Whether or not there is to be a CFE treaty will determine the fate of the all-European summit conference on security and cooperation scheduled, as you know, to be held in Paris in November. The concluding stage of the talks is taking place now in the Austrian capital, and I believe it will go down in history as one of the busiest and most unusual. You have already mentioned that at the Gorbachev-Kohl meeting an accord was reached that these forces should jointly not exceed a level of 370,000 men. These proposals, as well as, for instance, proposals by a representative of Luxembourg for reducing the numbers of personnel in the Armed Forces of the states participating in the Vienna talks also assist in finding a solution which would indeed not isolate a unified Germany but would bring it harmoniously into the all-European security and cooperation process.

[Golyakov] On the other hand, I should like to make the following point. With the unification of Germany, its inclusion in NATO and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Central Europe, a situation arises which is in effect quite different. It comes about, for instance, that in Central Europe the West will have 8,000 tanks while the East will have 4,000. The correlation will thus alter to two-to-one in favour of the West. Naturally, we cannot pretend in such a situation that nothing has happened. In this connection we too are proposing to lower the ceiling for each of the groups of states in Central Europe to the level which the Warsaw Pact possesses in reality: in other words, that each grouping should have around 4,000 tanks, 6,000 armored vehicles, and 3,500 artillery pieces.

[Volskiy] But there is another question here, Sergey Mikhailovich. It may be an individual one but all the same it is one that is putting a brake on the fruitfulness of the Vienna talks. This is the question of naval aircraft. The West alleges that—in the language of these documents—non-inclusion of land-based naval aircraft would lead to hundreds of aircraft being excluded from the agreement and to the possible transfer of other aircraft to this category. Well, on the other hand, the majority of strike aircraft—carrier-based aircraft—remain out of account, and the fact is that carrier-based aircraft are not only based on ships but can also be based on land. So, as informed experts are saying, a solution to this problem might be found on the basis of a compromise. For example, NATO would withdraw its proposal to include naval aircraft in the global ceiling and we in our turn, outside the context of the Vienna talks, would limit the numbers of our Tu-22M aircraft.

[Gubernatorov] Well, I feel it is not worth our while going to deeply into the detail of weaponry. Let us leave that to the diplomats and experts currently engaged in the Vienna talks. For us it is important to realize that reducing conventional weapons and eliminating the threat of sudden attack and large-scale offensive operations have been and remain key problems when it comes to creating a secure future Europe.

[Volskiy] Well, of course all these problems are of great importance and ll these talks attract public attention, but what is at the center of interest today for the whole world, for the whole of mankind, is the meeting between the presidents of the Soviet Union and the United States taking place in Helsinki, a meeting which could open a new chapter in the history of international relations in our time. [passage omitted]

PRC Academic Views Shevardnadze's Speech

PM1009103990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by Ye. Izyurov, D. Latypov, and G. Syromyatov: "Cooperation in the Interests of All"]

[Excerpts] Vladivostok—Over 300 scholars, parliamentarians, and business people from 24 Asian-Pacific region countries gathered in Vladivostok at the second international "Asian-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, and Cooperation" meeting. The opening session was addressed by E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR Presidential Council member and foreign minister. There were various reactions to it from foreign forum participants. [passage omitted]

Professor Shi Ming, deputy director of the PRC Academy of Sciences Institute of Asia-Pacific Research:

"I liked E.A. Shevardnadze's speech. It struck many common chords with our state's views of Asian-Pacific issues.

"But there are elements of the speech which it is difficult to accept. E.A. Shevardnadze calls for broad Asian-Pacific cooperation. But it is not easy to accomplish this. After all, countries and regions have different economic mechanisms and different levels of development. It would be impossible to create a common platform for joint activity before the end of the century. Therefore, we are proposing consideration of a subregional economic cooperation zone which would include five countries: USSR, China, South and North Korea, Japan, and Mongolia. The countries in this economic group could complement one another. For example, China is rich in labor and natural resources and has a certain level of technological development. The eastern part of your country is rich in natural resources, but the population is small. Japan has a great deal of capital and high technology, which could integrate our countries. The other states are equally interesting and useful to one another."

North Atlantic Delegation To Assess Perestroyka

LD1009210590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1125 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep. (TASS)—The world's interest in our state has grown at an important moment in its history. This is attested by the visit to the USSR of a subcommittee of the North Atlantic Assembly on East Europe and the Soviet Union. Why are we going and by what route? This summarizes the interest of the Western guests in our perestroyka, of which Jan Petersen (Norway), the head of the delegation and chairman of the sub-committee, spoke in a conversation held today at the USSR Committee for Constitutional Supervision.

When they answered questions, Sergey Alekseyev, chairman of the USSR committee and members of the committee briefed the foreign representatives on such topics as relations between the center and the repubics, the future union treaty, and the development of the political system as a whole.

Both sides stated a mutual desire for fruitful cooperation toward asserting values common to humanity.

Grinevskiy Cited on Vienna CSCE Talks

LD0709160890 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna September 7 TASS—Participants in the Vienna talks on confidence and security building measures in Europe, who held a regular plenary meeting today, are now taking an efficiency exam. It was stressed that the talks have rached the point, at which the responsibility of delegations from 35 countries—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)—is doubling.

The crucial problem today is whether it will be possible to work out a serious and meaningful document on European confidence and security building measures before the forthcoming all-European Paris summit due in November. Many participants in the talks express misgivings. There is too little time to do the work, and a lot of problems remain. Progress in various spheres included in the agenda of the Vienna talks has been very uneven. In some spheres progress is obvious, while in others, which are of key importance, there is no sign of it. These include, for example, the extending of confidence building measures to the naval forces.

Ambassador at large Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation to the talks, believes that it is necessary, first, to work actively for agreements in all spheres of the talks and to develop success where it has been achieved, without slackening efforts in the spheres in which there is no progress. Secondly, delegates must insist on coordinating the text on issues, on which a consensus has been reached. "I think that it could be the shortest way to working out a document for the all-European summit on confidence and security building measures, the context of which is gradually becoming clearer," he told TASS.

United States & Canada

Joint U.S. Aircraft Project Planned at Summit

LD1009131890 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Excerpt] The United States is examining a joint project with the Soviet Union to produce a civilian aircraft to compete on international market, said President Mikhail Gorbachev on Sunday. The Soviet president told a Soviet television interviewer that the project was among many raised in talks on Sunday in Helsinki with President George Bush. The joint project was mentioned last week during a visit to Israel by U.S. industrialist Armand Hammer, who has had close links with the Soviet leadership since the founding of the Soviet state. He said Soviet-built Tupolev-204 and Ilyushin-96 aircraft would be fitted in Israel with U.S. Pratt & Whitney engines and U.S. avionics in order to compete with aircraft produced by the four-nation European Airbus consortium. In his brief comments President Gorbachev made no mention of Israel but said Bush had promised to remove all obstacles from the U.S. side. [passage omitted]

Commentaries Continue To Assess Helsinki Summit

'Unified Front' Seen

LD1009141990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow 10 Sep (TASS)—"A new era has opened up in cooperation between the superpowers" (THE WASHINGTON POST), "Cooperation between Moscow and Washington has been placed on a reliable footing" (the Japanese paper NIHON KEIZAI), "Ideal agreement in assessing the situation" (the French television channel TF-1)—these are the things being said by the foreign mass media about the results of the Helsinki Gorbachev-Bush meeting. One cannot but agree with their assessment. The first and primary result of the meeting is undoubtedly that the two great powers, the USSR and the United States, have for the first time in the post-war period, come out together in a unified front against aggression. They have thus demonstrated that there really has been a sharp turning point of fundamental importance in Soviet-U.S. relations and that world politics is quickly losing its old "ideological" complexion.

That is not the only conclusion that can be drawn in analyzing the results of the Helsinki dialogue, however. It is no less important that in condemning aggression Moscow and Washington especially emphasize they are relying on the well-known UN Security Council resolutions and they call for them to be resolutely and firmly fulfilled. The reactions coming in on our teleprinters today indicate this call has been heard and supported in most of the world's capitals. "When Husayn embarked upon aggression against Kuwait he hoped the traditional differing interests of the United States and the USSR in the Middle East would help him to realize his plans," notes the U.S. television company ABC. It is now obvious that these calculations by Baghdad are absolutely groundless.

Just before the Helsinki meeting, in an effort to somehow justify its aggressive course, Baghdad was energetic in promoting that it is not opposed to resolving the conflict in the Persian Gulf, but linked up with other Middle East problems. Certain foreign media organs, including Arab ones, "deciphered" this as meaning that in opposing the annexation of Kuwait the USSR is in effect "closing" the Palestinian issue. In so doing they ignored the true position of Moscow, enshrined in particular in the recent joint Soviet-French statement, which noted that this crisis "shows once again the urgent need to step up efforts to achieve a very rapid settlement of other conflicts in the Middle East, especially the Palestinian problem." The same idea has now been stressed in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement. If practical work to settle the Palestinian problem has slowed down, then is it not actually because Iraq's aggression has, as it were, shifted the emphasis in the activity of the UN Security Council and distracted public attention from this problem?

Finally, last but not least, the Helsinki meeting dotted the "i's" on the question of whether certain circles in Washington are not striving to make use of the situation to perpetuate the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf zone, a question that has been worrying the Arab world and not only the Arab world. President Bush spoke seriously and unambiguously on this matter and said the administration has no such plans. It was not only in Arab countries that his words on this were greeted with satisfaction.

The Helsinki meeting has strengthened hopes that the crisis in the Persian Gulf will be resolved by political and not military means. However, if the efforts now being made do not lead to an end to aggression then the USSR and United States, notes the Soviet-U.S. statement, are ready to consider the possibility of additional steps in accordance with the UN Charter. We will hope the Iraqi leadership, in analyzing the results of the Helsinki forum, will not overlook that passage. For if the USSR and the United States, as well as the overwhelming majority of other members of the international community, are so resolutely opposed to the aggression, that is serious.

Soviet Policy Assessed

LD1009195790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Studio interview with Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, member of the Presidential Council, by correspondent A. Melnikov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Melnikov] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, you were one of the participants in the meeting [Bush-Gorbachev summit], how would you assess its results?

[Primakov] I believe that this is a great victory for peace, of course. This is not, so to speak, a banal assessment. Indeed, the dramatic nature of the situation is that, on the one hand, you have aggression pure and simple where a large state has annexed a small one—and there is no getting away from that—and, on the other hand, the threat of a major military conflict has emerged, into which may be drawn the million-strong Army of Iraq which has stood the test of a war with Iran and which is sufficiently battleworthy, and the immense striking force being built up there by the United States. It will become very difficult to get out of this situation.

Therefore the main thrust of President Gorbachev's activity is precisely to concentrate the situation at the level of a political settlement. I believe that there has been success here although, of course, one cannot completely rule out the possibility of other things happening in the future. But if other things do happen in the future, then we will again link them to the UN Charter, and it should be sealed in a communique.

The other thing I would like to stress is this. The presidents of the two countries agreed that the economic sanctions which were adopted based on a UN Security Council resolution must be strictly observed. But they must not include deliveries of food and medicines, because the population—especially the children—must not suffer because a ruler or a group of individuals pursues this or that policy.

Further, I believe that a great result of this meeting is also focused—well, to put it mildly—mainly on the results of the participation of the USSR president and the U.S. President—our viewers will be able to see after the "Vremya" program when there will be a repeat of the two presidents' news conference—as well as on the U.S. decision to withdraw its troops in the event of an end to this conflict by means of the fulfillment of the Security Council resolution. Thus there will be no permanent U.S. military presence there.

Then there is another question. You know, this was the usual thing in the old days. Frequently when we had either a situation in the country, not particularly extraordinary, or we wished to obtain some kind of dividend in the political arena—this sometimes happened in practice—we would send military advisers and sometimes even troops, as happened in Afghanistan, to resolve everything secretly. Under the present leadership that sort of thing cannot happen now. It couldn't happen. And Bush did not even raise the question of our military presence there, realizing that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev would never embark upon such a decision without the utmost necessity, without this affecting the Soviet Union's direct interests, vital interests.

[Melnikov] May I put this question to you as a specialist on the Near East? One of Saddam Husayn's trump cards is this: Why should he fulfill the UN Security Council's resolution when all previous ones, or most of them, on the Near East have not been fulfilled?

[Primakov] Yes, you know, I am reminded of a situation when people say: Look, let us not treat this patient because we still have not cured the one who asked for our help earlier. This logic does not, so to speak, come within the bounds of elementary logic of world politics. But at the same time, and this is also one of the results—you did well to raise this question—as one of the latest steps following a solution to the crisis in the Persian Gulf zone there have been planned—and one should even act in this direction simultaneously—steps have been planned to normalize the situation in other countries of this region. I am talking mainly about the Arab-Israeli conflict. Of course, all efforts should be made for this to be accomplished.

And another thing, you know it is not the fashion today to talk about the greatness of the Soviet Union, and so on, but throughout the world people consider us to be great, to a greater extend than people speak about this inside the country, or act inside the country. Indeed, people are interested in our being great because we are now placing all our weight, our immense weight, on the scales of history to tip the balance in favor of a political settlement and a peaceful settlement to whatever problems may arise.

Iraqi Reports Highly Critical

LD1009144490 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] The Iraqi News Agency, INA, has issued a commentary on the results of the Helsinki meeting of the Soviet-American presidents. The commentary says that President Bush is possessed by an evil spirit and that the comments he made at the summit reflect his malicious intentions and hatred towards the Arab nation. The deployment of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia is described as [a] colonial and Zionist plan for controlling that country's oil deposits.

On the eve of the Helsinki meeting a statement by President Saddam Husayn was read out on Iraqi television. It said that any attempt to restore the situation that existed before the 2d August will only plunge the whole region into chaos. Meanwhile, the Cairo newspaper AL-WAFD has said that another seven warships bound for the Persian Gulf have sailed through the Suez Canal. They will join the more than 60 United States naval vessels already operating in the region. An influential U.S. lawmaker, Sam Nunn, has said that the time has come to slow down the U.S. build-up in the Persian Gulf. Sam Nunn believes that there already is a deterrence potential and the main psychological and political benefits could be received by increasing the Arab forces.

International sanctions have been felt in Iraq ever more strongly. To cope with them Baghdad is ready to accept assistance from Iran, one of its worst enemies just recently. The Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz has visited Tehran for the first time since 1980, when the war between the two countries broke out. At his talks with Iranian officials Tariq 'Aziz is reported to have discussed the possibility of delivering food and medical supplies to Iraq across Iranian territory.

Foreigners in Kuwait and Iraq are in a desperate situation, hundreds of thousands of people from Asian countries who had worked in Kuwait have found themselves as refugees on Iraq's border with Jordan. They have to live in tents and improvised shelters in extremely bad conditions and without any medical aid. There have been fears that the flow of refugees may increase because the hostels of foreign workers in Kuwait have been taken by Iraqi troops and many homes have been destroyed.

The plight of people from a number of Western countries is still worse. Iraq has moved them to a number of strategic facilities to use them as a live shield in case of an attack. The Arab leaders have continued intensive attempts to coordinate the formula of a settlement in the Gulf.

That was commentary by Iraq's news agency on the Helsinki meeting of the Soviet and American presidents.

Cheney Reviews U.S. Military Policies, Strategy

PM0909221490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Review of Military Strategy"]

[Text] Washington, 7 Sep—The U.S. Administration has conducted a "voluntary radical review of U.S. strategy and military policy" to take account of the "phenomenal changes that have occurred in the world over the past year and a half" and the new situation that has emerged in the world, U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney has stated.

Over the past 40 years the structure of our Armed Forces and our strategy, he said in a speech Thursday at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (Homestead, Virginia), has been considerably based on the need to be prepared for a world war with the Soviet Union. We have been guided by our plans to wage a large-scale land war in Europe.

Now that Soviet troops are withdrawing from East Europe, the secretary continued, now that prospects have emerged in the Soviet Union itself for considerable political and economic transformations, now that genuine improvements have come about in U.S.-Soviet relations, and now that a new meeting between the Soviet and U.S. presidents will be held in Helsinki at the end of this week, President Bush has ordered changes to be made to our strategy.

In Cheney's words, the work to revise U.S. military strategy has been carried out over many months under the leadership of National Security Adviser B. Scowcroft. Only the conflict in the Persian Gulf, he noted, has diverted the administration from publicizing the first results of the review.

The main result of the work, Cheney pointed out, has been a radical change pointing to a switch from the former idea that the United States had to be prepared to wage a world war with the Soviet Union within a few days or weeks, to the idea that we should focus our main attention on regional, rather than global conflicts.

At the same time, the secretary stressed, these changes in U.S. strategy do not assume any reduction in the active U.S. role in world affairs—on the contrary, they assume that U.S. forces will remain "forward-based" in Asia and the Pacific region on the basis of maintaining the historic ties with Japan and South Korea, but "at a lower level." The United States, Cheney noted, intends to retain a considerable military presence in Europe, but "also at a far lower level and taking account of agreements at the talks on conventional armed forces and arms reduction in Europe" as well as changes on the European Continent.

On the whole, he stated, this concept of Atlantic forces, Pacific forces, U.S.-based emergency forces, and strategic forces will form the basis of our force structure for the years ahead.

U.S. Naval Detachment Arrives in Vladivostok

LD1009104490 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT
10 Sep 90

[Text] Vladivostok September 10 TASS—A force of warships consisting of the Princeton cruiser and the Reuben James frigate under the flag of Commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet Charles Larson arrived in Vladivostok today on an official visit.

Last August a group of Soviet warships under the flag of Commander of the Pacific Fleet Gennadiy Khvatov visited the American port of San Diego.

American Sailors today visited the Maritime Territorial [as received] and Vladivostok today on an official visit.

Last August a Group Fleet Gennadiy Khvatov visited the American port of San Diego.

American sailors today visited the Maritime Territorial and Vladivostok City Councils. A reception was arranged in honour of the U.S. delegation.

China

Talks Begin With PRC on Armed Forces Cuts

LD1009162590 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1552 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 Sep (TASS)—Talks began in Moscow today between delegations of the USSR and the PRC on mutual cuts in Armed Forces and on strengthening trust in the military sphere in the region of the Soviet-Chinese border. The first session opened with speeches by Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Tian Zengpei, PRC vice minister of foreign affairs.

The Soviet representative stressed that the talks that have begun are one of the central links in the process of strengthening Soviet-Chinese relations.

The Chinese side stated the importance of the talks and expressed confidence that they will be concluded with concrete results.

The Soviet delegation at the talks is headed by Genrikh Kireyev, head of the Socialist Countries of Asia Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Chinese delegation by Liu Guangzhi, deputy head of the Soviet Union and East European Affairs department of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Soviet Envoy to PRC Received by Chinese Premier

LD1009213890 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] The premier of China's State Council Li Peng today received the Soviet ambassador Oleg Troyanovskiy on the threshold of his forthcoming departure for home.

In a conversation, the Chinese prime minister spoke highly of the state and development of bilateral relations since the summit, held in Beijing in May last year. He stressed his country's intention to further advance toward promoting good-neighborly cooperation between the two countries in various fields.

Tourists Visit Newly Opened PRC Border Area

LD1009133290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Vitrishcak]

[Summary] Khabarovsk, 10 Sep [TASS]—The first motor vessels carrying foreign tourists along the River Amur right to the Chinese coast have taken a group of British visitors to a spot from which they had a panoramic view of the Chinese town of Fu'an. Until recently the Soviet-Chinese border area was closed to foreign tourists.

Northeast Asia

North-South Korean Premier-Level Talks Viewed

To End 'Hostility, Confrontation'

SK1009102490 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] The second day of the Seoul talks between DPRK Premier Yon Hyong-muk and South Korean Prime Minister Kang Yong-hun have ended.

According to reports from the South Korean capital, keynote speeches were made by the heads of government of the two countries in the first day of the talks on the divided Korean Peninsula dealing with broad range of issues. These speeches were discussed behind closed doors on the second day of the talks.

Attention was primarily given to the issue of dissolving hostility and military and political confrontation; the issue of reducing arms; and of establishing multilateral exchanges and cooperation between the North and South.

According to reports from Seoul, it seemed that both sides were satisfied with the talks.

The first historic meeting by the premiers of the DPRK and South Korea received much attention.

The papers of the South and North found common points and principle differences in the attitude of both sides trying to resolve issues and actively commented on the positions of both sides.

Generally, the papers express the hope that these talks will provide an impetus for improving inter-Korea relations.

While commenting on the Seoul talks, the Western media are saying that all disputable issues were not overcome and that the outcome of the dialogue leaves something to be desired.

Foreign media report that a delegate from the South Korean side said that the South side was satisfied with the talks to some degree.

Seoul's official spokesman stated that the South side did not put emphasis on carrying out disputes or pointing to different opinions but rather put emphasis on trying to find common positions on issues of dispute and make efforts to resolve these issues one by one.

The spokesman of the DPRK said that since Pyongyang's position was reflected in the talks, the talks proceeded well.

It is being emphasized that the Seoul talks have historic significance because for the first time, the two sides held direct contacts to make proposals to settle the issue of the divided Korean peninsula.

Yesterday, South Korean President No Tae-u met with the DPRK delegation led by Premier Yon Hyong-muk. During the brief meeting, the president expressed the hope for a summit meeting of both sides in the near future to effectively resolve long-standing issues and to be of help in regulating the framework of mutual cooperation.

The president stated that the meeting between the premiers of the DPRK and South Korea, which was held for the first time in 45 years, was a first step in reunifying the North and South.

'Positive Result' Seen

PM1009115990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Commentary by V. Ganshin "International Commentary": "Talks End, Dialogue Continues"]

[Text] Talks between the prime ministers of North and South Korea have ended in Seoul. During the meetings the sides had an opportunity to set forth at some length their views on the problem of Korean unification. During the direct dialogue they were able to familiarize themselves better with the arguments and position of their partner in the talks.

IZVESTIYA has already reported that South Korean Prime Minister Kang Yong-hun has proposed for discussion an eight-point draft "Agreement on the Basis for Regulating Inter-Korean Relations."

Acquaintance with this document leads me to conclude that Seoul, while talking about the prospects for a normalization of relations on the peninsula, is emphasizing above all humanitarian issues and the development of economic cooperation, devoting less attention to political and military problems.

His interlocutor, Yon Hyong-muk, on the other hand, believes that the most important problem is to reduce the level of military and political tension. In the package of proposals from the North Korean side six points of their program are devoted to measures to eradicate political confrontation, and nine to the elimination of military confrontation.

In my opinion, the views expressed by Yon Hyong-muk were more specific and, above all, concern what could be termed the fundamental points hampering the North-South dialogue. After all, Seoul and Washington, which supports Seoul on this, have constantly declared the need to keep U.S. Armed Forces in the South for the reason that there is a "threat of attack" from the North. Just what is Pyongyang proposing? Reciprocal restrictions on the size of military maneuvers are given as a step which could ease the political and military confrontation, and it is proposed to ban altogether exercises involving foreign troops and armaments in which forces of more than a division are involved. Later the idea of phased armed forces cuts in the course of the next three to four years is to be put forward. Each side's Armed Forces should not exceed 300,000 men at the initial stage, 200,000 at the second stage, and 100,000 at the third stage. The North Korean side again drew the attention of its partners in the talks to the need to withdraw the 43,000-strong U.S. contingent from South Korean territory, to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, and to abandon the production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons there.

The North believes that "if the problem of political and military confrontation is resolved, multifaceted economic and cultural cooperation and exchanges in various spheres of social life based on mutual trust could take place."

The proposals made by the two sides are completely serious and merit thorough discussion and analysis. I think that there is no point in rejecting an opponent's arguments from the outset simply because the state system in that country is not in line with your version of the ideal. And that is why I would not approach the results of the first meeting at such a high level for many years too strictly. No, it was not possible to reach mutual understanding and agreement on the most important issues. No, it was not possible to achieve any notable rapprochement in the sides' positions on a number of fundamental issues. Nonetheless, the very fact that the meeting took place, the recognition of the need to put an end to the propaganda war, and the resolve to continue the dialogue in mid-October this year—this time in the DPRK capital—can be considered a positive result. It is possible that during the new meeting its participants will be able to find points of contact.

All the more so since the level of dialogue could be increased. During the unprecedented meeting between South Korean President No Tae-u and DPRK Prime Minister Yon Hyong-muk the desire was expressed to bring about the unification of Korea in the very near future. The president stressed that it will be necessary to continue talks and build relations on the basis of "coexistence and mutual prosperity." In No Tae-u's opinion, "the most important thing now is to hold talks at the summit level"—and the sooner the better. He also stressed that South Korea intends to give economic aid to the DPRK, and told Prime Minister Yon Hyong-muk that Seoul will try to treat Pyongyang's proposals with understanding "if they have a rational core."

Thus, the door remains open for future talks.

North Korea Celebrates Founding Anniversary

Yazov Sends Greetings

PM1009132790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov undated greetings to DPRK counterpart on DPRK's anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Vice Marshal of the Korean People's Army O Chin-u, DPRK minister of the People's Armed Forces

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces I cordially congratulate you and all Korean People's Army servicemen on the 42d anniversary of the proclamation of the DPRK.

People in the Soviet Union note with satisfaction that over the past years the DPRK working people have achieved great results in socioeconomic building.

On this festive day I wish you and all Korean People's Army personnel new successes in military labor in the interests of strengthening their motherland's defense capability.

(Signed) Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Problems, Progress Seen

SK1009122890 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Text] September 9 is a day that has a special place in DPRK history. It is the day on which the first session of the Supreme People's Assembly 42 years ago declared the founding of the Republic. In this connection, commentator Andrey Illin says:

The country, which used to be a backward colonial state in the past, is on the verge of being an advanced country in its economic development and has established the material and technological foundation of socialism. The DPRK, in its development, has relied on support from the Soviet Union and other socialist nations. In 1961, the Soviet Union and the DPRK concluded the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. This was a practical demonstration of the two countries' concern for strengthening their good-neighbor relationship and for preserving peace and security in the Far East.

The Soviet Union is still the DPRK's largest trading partner. The Soviet Union supplies raw materials, machines, facilities, and food to the Republic. The DPRK, in turn, exports ore, machines, and heavy industrial products to the Soviet Union. The Soviet technological cooperation offered for the construction of plants in the DPRK has become a traditional pattern of the economic cooperation between the two countries.

It can be said that the northern half of the Korean peninsula has won considerable achievements in the socialist construction. According to official data, today, the industry of the Republic takes 13 hours to produce what used to take a year back in 1946. Regarding the rural economy, the Republic plans to produce 15 million tonnes of grain by 1993, the last year of the Third Seven-Year Plan. Toward this end, special attention is being focused on agricultural irrigation, electrification, mechanization, and chemicalization.

However, the country has a series of problems, which are not concealed by the leadership of the Republic and which are normally talked about by the publications. Strain in the transportation sector, a shortage of power, and complications in the supply of raw materials for enterprises and in the export of products are problems. The development of agriculture also faces an obvious hurdle.

However, the country is struggling doggedly and tensely. In the work of creation, the country needs peace and security and also needs to overcome the unnatural division of Korea, and it is an urgent task of the nation to overcome the division of Korea.

The Workers Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic try to solve the problems without foreign intervention. This has been confirmed at the tlaks of the North-South premiers which ended in Seoul on 6 September, held for the first time in history.

Disagreement in views has not been completely narrowed down. But the prospects for the future of the talks are bright, because the talks held this time could be a start for the future reunification of Korea.

The DPRK peace proposals are understood and supported by the Soviet Union. This fact was confirmed by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's recent visit to Pyongyang.

The Soviet foreign minister and his North Korean counterpart have confirmed that genuine safety and security in Northeast Asia can be guaranteed only when the situation is adjusted on the Korean peninsula and when the dangerous cause of tension is removed there.

Toward this end, important preconditions are to reduce the level of military confrontation between the North and South and to settle all disputes in a peaceful way.

Shevardnadze has pointed out the constructive points of the DPRK proposals for the mutual reduction of the Armed Forces of the North and South and for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from the Korean peninsula.

In general, the Soviet-DPRK talks have reflected the desires of the two sides to develop friendly relations between the two countries and to find a new form of cooperation.

On the 42d anniversary of the founding of the DPRK, we wish the Korean people new success in their efforts for a happy future.

'Great Achievements' Noted

SK1009124890 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 9 Sep 90

[Commentary from the "Focus on Asia" program by station commentator (Igor Negyev): "Toward New Korea—On the DPRK Founding Anniversary"]

[Text] Forty two years ago, on 9 September 1948, the founding of the DPRK was declared. In this connection, our station commentator (Igor Negyev) says:

In August 1945, the people of the northern half of Korea had the possibility to build a new life when their nearly half-century colonial history ended.

Today, it can be clearly said that the past decades have been ones of historic change and have been a path of great achievements which the Korean working people have won in many areas in the life of the country.

Today, the DPRK is a developed industrial state with modern industry and agriculture. The DPRK produces 10,000-tonne presses, powerful hydraulic-turbine generators, electric locomotives, and general facilities equipped with modern processes.

The industrial product of the organ of the people's power has grown more than 300 times. However, this never means that the development of the country is smooth. The DPRK leadership does not conceal the fact that many things have to be done to expand the power production capacities, to improve the transportation system, to develop the ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries, to rapidly introduce scientific inventions into production, and to improve the people's standard of living.

The country is actively struggling to solve problems, to make up for defects, and overcome difficulties in the other areas as well. Pyongyang is also making efforts so that the socialist construction in the northern half of the country may be carried out in peaceful conditions.

Toward this end, the DPRK is taking steps to ease tension on the Korean peninsula and hold contacts with South Korea. For instance, talks have been recently held in Seoul between the premiers of the two countries, the DPRK and the ROK.

As has been stated by the head of the North Korean delegation, the acute state of military and political confrontation must be removed and favorable conditions must be created for the reunification of the country in the nineties.

In my opinion, the DPRK can only welcome these things.

The implementation of the related DPRK proposals and other proposals will drastically improve the situation in Korea and will contribute to strengthening stability in the region.

Yanayev, South Korean Delegation Hold Talks

LD0709230190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1307 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 7 Sep (TASS)—A meeting was held today between Gennadiy Yanayev, (?member) of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, and Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and a delegation of South Korean parliamentary and business circles. It was made up of congressmen Yu Hak-song, Yi Han-chun and Kim Han-chu and Professor Chon Yong-pang, president of the "Korus" Corporation.

During a friendly conversation they discussed the prospects for expanding mutually helpful contacts between the Soviet Union and South Korea and exchanged opinions on the situation in Southeast Asia and the possibilities for further developing inter-Korean dialogue. Yanayev briefed the guests on the current problems of perestroyka in our country.

RSFSR Economic Delegation Arrives in Seoul

LD0709184490 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Tokyo September 7 TASS—[An] economic delegation from the Russian Federation arrived in Seoul today at the invitation of the leadership of major South Korean industrial group here to discuss ways to boost bilateral cooperation.

During the visit, which will last until September 14, the delegation is expected to visit major industrial centres in South Korea to specify opportunities for developing mutually advantageous cooperation and expanding economic changes.

Deputy Chairman of Mongolian Party Elected

LD0809201790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] The sixth day of the work of the Mongolian Great People's Hural of the 12th Convocation has ended. Deputies today elected a deputy chairman of Small Hural. He is Dzardyhan, a well-known scientist, doctor of history, a member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia, and a former deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Mongolia.

Late last night the Great People's accepted the resignation of the government. Gombojav, chairman of the Great People's Hural, has asked the present composition of the Council of Ministers to remain in an acting capacity until a new government is formed.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev, Israeli Adviser Confer on Gulf

TA0709095490 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] Professor Eliyahu Zemtsov, Minister Yuval Ne'eman's adviser, was received yesterday in Moscow by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet leader told his guest that he is very appreciative of the restraint and calm characterizing the Israeli stance in the current crisis in the Persian Gulf and wished to learn about the progress of his country's scientific and economic ties with Israel.

Our correspondent Meron Tzur notes that Prof. Zemtsov, who was born in the Soviet Union, is a

Sovietologist and an expert on the Kremlin's international policy. He has extensive ties with the upper Soviet echelons.

Israeli Housing Minister Sharon Visits Moscow

Visit Termed 'Provocative'

LD1009114290 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Nishchev]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—Prominent Israeli politician Ariel Sharon is in Moscow, TASS has discovered.

Ambassador of the state of Palestine in Moscow Nabil Amr sent a letter to TASS in connection with the visit, describing Sharon as "the key figure responsible for the massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila" in 1982.

The letter says: "It is especially puzzling that Ariel Sharon, responsible for the destruction of thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese houses, has arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the Moscow City Council to coordinate actions in resolving the housing problem."

In Amr's opinion, "The visit at this moment will be assessed as provocative throughout the world."

TASS asked the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate to explain. The directorate confirmed that, indeed, Sharon "arrived in Moscow last Thursday [6 September] and plans to stay in the USSR until next Friday".

A Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed at the same time that Sharon arrived in the USSR "on a private invitation."

Sharon was invited to Moscow by the Modul building cooperative. The invitation was "supported" by the Moscow City Council.

According to unconfirmed reports, the Modul cooperative plans to participate in the construction of housing in Israel in exchange for fruit and vegetable supplies to Moscow.

Sharon Urges Jews To Immigrate

TA0809155990 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] Construction and Housing Minister Ari'el Sharon visited the Great Synagogue in Moscow this morning and exhorted Soviet Jews to immigrate to Israel. Speaking after Sabbath prayers, Sharon said that there is room for all the Soviet Jews in Israel. You will have roofs over your heads, he said, so have no fear. If there are many Jews in Israel, we will be strong and achieve peace.

Saudis Respond to Crisis by Increasing Contacts

LD1009142490 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—"My country and the Soviet Union have begun serious contacts aimed at establishing diplomatic relations," Saudi Arabia Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal Al Sa'ud said in Jeddah on Sunday, according to the FRANCE PRESSE AGENCY.

A spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry's Middle East and North African Department commented on the news at the request of the official Soviet news agency TASS.

An active exchange of views with the Saudi leadership is underway through a variety of channels, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. This exchange covers a number of major issues, including a Middle East settlement, the Afghan problem and world oil prices.

Personal contacts have been established at an advanced political level. The leaders of the two countries have exchanged messages.

The Gulf crisis has stimulated the exchange of views with the Saudi side because it affected the interests of both the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia, the spokesman said.

A special envoy from the Saudi leadership, Bandar Bin-Sultan, visited Moscow on August 22-23 to meet Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and other Foreign Ministry officials for talks.

Although there was no discussion of the possible resumption of full-scale diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level the sides stated that there was an urgent need to solve the problem.

In this context the Saudi foreign minister's statement reflects the actual state of affairs and Soviet intentions, the spokesman noted.

Iraqi Minister Denounces U.S.-Led Sanctions

LD1109085190 Moscow TASS in English 0836 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Cairo September 11 TASS—Iraqi Health Minister 'Abd-al-Salah Muhammad Sa'id has sent letters to his foreign counterparts, saying that the "American" decision to bar medicines and baby milk from Iraq is inhuman.

Whatever the reasons behind the enforcement of sanctions, they should not cover food and medicines, the minister said.

Turkish authorities have officially confirmed that at least 20 Iraqi servicemen have fled to Turkey since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the MENA news agency reports.

According to a Kuwaiti source, the Iraqi Army stole over $11 billion from Kuwaiti banks, jewellery shops, supermarkets and other institutions in the first four hours of the invasion. More and more robberies have been reported subsequently, Kuwaiti trade union leader Haif Issam told MENA.

Last Saturday [8 September], Iraqi soldiers opened fire on a house occupied by Kuwaitis, killing 15 Kuwaiti civilians, the KUNA news agency reports. It also says that the Iraqi Army bulldozed 25 houses belonging to Kuwaitis in a Kuwait city district.

Arab League foreign ministers denounced the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait at their emergency conference in Cairo.

At the conference, which ended on Monday night, the foreign ministers decided to move the League headquarters from Tunis to Cairo.

The ministers called for the unity of "the Arab nation" and the quest for an Arab way of settling the Gulf crisis.

Local observers believe, however, that it will be extremely difficult to bring the Arab world together, which was split by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Iraq and several more Arab countries stated that they did not recognise the decisions by the Cairo conference.

Politburo's Yanayev Meets With Tunisian Envoy

PM1009152390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general the heading "Official Information"]

[Text] A meeting took place 7 September between G.I. Yanaev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and A. Zouari, general secretary of the Democratic Constitutional Assembly party, who is in Moscow as the special representative of Tunisian Republic President E.A. Ben Ali.

During the discussion A. Zouari was acquainted with the activity of the CPSU in the conditions of perestroyka and certain current international problems were discussed. A mutual desire for the development of links between the CPSU and the Democratic Constitutional Assembly was expressed.

The Tunisian ambassador in the USSR, A. Ounaies, was present at the discussion.

Former Military Adviser Interviewed on Iraq

AU1009182090 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ in Polish 7-9 Sep 90 p 5

[Interview with Zakir Gafurov, retired Soviet colonel and military adviser in Iraq in the 1970's, by NOVOSTI journalist Valeriy Myasnikov; place and date not given: "Holding Onto Power at Any Price"]

[Text] "I would call Saddam Husayn's regime a Middle Eastern Stalinist regime," says Colonel Zakir Gafurov (retired). Until recently he was a professor at the Military Political Academy imeni Lenin. Before that, in the 1970's, he worked at the bureau of the chief Soviet military adviser in Iraq. His duties meant that on more than one occasion he had an opportunity to come into contact with representatives of the highest circles in Iraq, including Saddam Husayn. NOVOSTI journalist Valeriy Myasnikov spoke to him.

[Myasnikov] Is what is happening in the Middle East at the present time a dispute that could not have been fully foreseen or is it something that should have been expected?

[Gafurov] The aggression directed against Kuwait is nothing other than the continuation by military means of the policies of Iraq's ruling "group at the top." It is an example of what can happen when the power of a military-bureaucratic apparatus is not subject to any controls.

A gigantic military machine has come into being there. It cannot remain idle. If it did, then it would begin to act against the regime within the country itself. In addition to that, the people and the military might start demanding a settling of accounts regarding the war against Iran, which Iraq in effect lost. When the leader of a military dictatorship senses that he might shortly be held to account for his actions, he launches a new military adventure in order to protect himself from the anger of the people. Saddam Husayn conceals this in pan-Arab sentiment, Islam, or even socialist ideology. Almost all dictators operate according to this kind of logic.

[Myasnikov] How do you view the fact that the USSR supplies weapons and equipment to Iraq and Third World countries?

[Gafurov] Supplying weapons without attaching any conditions and weapons that are not intended for the defense of a given country runs counter to the principles contained in the new thinking that we have announced, to the Soviet state's present course, and to the age of a world without violence that has just begun. There should be no ambiguities in our strategic plans.

It is obvious that one cannot break with the past in one go. Many developed countries continue to trade in arms. The USSR cannot unilaterally stop supplying arms. That lies at the heart of the global problem—the hotbeds of tension and the supplying of weapons to these areas. The entire world community needs to make an effort in order to solve this problem. Only common action can stop the flow of weapons to Third World countries; especially to irresponsible regimes such as that of Saddam Husayn.

[Myasnikov] What about the problem of military advisers?

[Gafurov] The arms trade and military advisers are links in the same chain. The dispatching of military advisers also has to stop.

[Myasnikov] Did you think the same way when you were a military adviser in Iraq in the 1970's?

[Gafurov] It is more complicated than it may seem to be today. In those days we thought that we were providing assistance to progressive forces. Of course, when you are in Moscow, it is difficult to get a good idea of the character of emergent Third World regimes. When I received my orders to travel to Iraq, I did not have any particular doubts about whether my mission was right.

However, once I was actually there in Iraq, I saw what things were actually like, and I understood what kind of person Saddam Husayn was (as matter of fact, I got to know him personally), what goals he had set for himself and what methods he used. That is when doubts began to trouble me.

What were we doing here? The only answer that could be given in those days was that we, that is, the Soviet Union, were resisting the enemy of world revolution—international imperialism. We had to fill every vacuum, because if left Iraq, then the Americans would take our place.

[Myasnikov] The situation today is the very opposite of that. The USSR and the United States are striving to unite their efforts. They are acting as guarantors of peace. In light of that, could the Soviet Armed Forces participate in a conflict in the Middle East?

[Gafurov] I do not exclude such a possibility.

[Myasnikov] What conditions would have to be met?

[Gafurov] I think that there should as many as three conditions. First, the participation of Soviet forces would only be possible within the framework of UN military structures. An invitation from one of the sides in the conflict could not serve as the basis for a decision to send armed forces to the region, even if such involvement would accord with our idea of what is just.

Second, if we consider the current military and political situation in the world, one cannot issue a challenge to the principles of the new political and military thinking that we espouse and we cannot permit the conflict to escalate, and even more so, we cannot allow the conflict to involve the use of chemical weapons, which are weapons of mass destruction.

Third, we have to take account of the internal situation in our country, especially of social and economic tensions. Above all, we have to take account of the fact that we have still not gotten over the Afghanistan syndrome. This means that Soviet society has a decidedly negative attitude toward participation in any kind of military action outside our borders. The days of decisions made behind closed doors are over—public opinion can no longer be ignored.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Relations With Somalia Reviewed on Anniversary

LD1009142990 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Korobov]

[Text] Mogadishu September 10 TASS—Few people in Somalia like to recall the events of 13 years ago now as Somalia and the Soviet Union prepare to mark the 30th anniversary of their diplomatic relations. The anniversary will be marked on Tuesday.

At the time, in November 1977, after the Soviet Union refused to suport the Somalian leadership which had started a war against Ethiopia, Somalia unilaterally abrogated the treaty on friendship and cooperation with the USSR. Bilateral relations sharply declined in all areas and official contacts were kept to a minimum.

Despite the long period of cool relations between the two countries, Somalians often prefer to speak Russian with the staff of Soviet institutions. They believe that in no other African country does the Soviet Union enjoy such great prestige as in Somalia.

The reason is not that many officials, senior members of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, servicemen, doctors and teachers received education in the Soviet Unuion. Many Somalians are grateful to the Soviet Union for relief aid during the 1973-1975 drought.

Soviet pilots and truck drivers evacuated 120,000 nomads from the drought-striken zone. By 1977, the Soviet Union had helped Somalia build 16 industrial and agricultural facilities, including a dairy products factory in Mogadishu, a meat-packing plant in Kismayu, a deep-water port in Berbera and a fish cannery in Las Khoreh. These facilities are still in operation.

The republic is beset by a host of economic and political problems. Its plans to offset losses from a break with the USSR by material and financial aid from the West, particularly the U.S., fell through. The country suffers from runaway inflation and its foreign debt is increasing at an alarming rate. In some regions rebels are waging an armed struggle against the government.

The country's leadership and the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party have recently taken several decisions to stabilise the situation, minister for information and tourism Farah Dahir Afey told TASS. A new draft constitution will be put to a nationwide referendum on October 31. The government is about to start negotiations with the opposition and has announced amnesty for all political prisoners, as well as for people who left Somalia for political reasons.

As for Somalian-Soviet relations, the minister said that "relations between our two countries are good now. I personally think that they can be improved even further."

East Europe

East German Prime Minister Arrives in Moscow

LD1109122290 Hamburg DPA in German 1158 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] GDR head of government Lothar de Maiziere arrived in Moscow a few minutes after Genscher. Following the resignation of Markus Meckel from the government, de Maiziere also holds the foreign minister portfolio.

Outgoing GDR Envoy Holds Predeparture Meetings

Visits With Laptev

PM1109085790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS Report under the general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 5 September I.D. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, and R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, received Gerd Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, in connection with the completion of his activity in that post and impending departure home.

Sees Internal Affairs Minister

PM1009113790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.V. Bakatin, member of the USSR Presidential Council and USSR minister of internal affairs, received Gerd Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, 6 September in connection with his forthcoming departure from the USSR. Talks were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Organized Crime Disrupts Polish Marketplace

90UF0516A Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Sep 90 p 3

[Unattributed TASS article: "The Syndicate of Crime"]

[Text] Warsaw, 4 September, (TASS)—The Ruzycki market in Warsaw, the largest in Poland, has become an international flea market. A criminal syndicate has formed here, uniting Soviet, Bulgarian, Romanian, Czech, Hungarian, and Yugoslav smugglers and profiteers. It appeared at first as a means of self-defense against the local Praga thieves (named after the city district on the right bank of Vistula), but now the gangsters from countries in East Europe have started to intimidate even law enforcement officials.

Robbers, pickpockets, and hoodlums from the right bank of the Vistula could always find common language with corrupt members of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], but even they cannot cope with the "rival firm." Most of their competitors come from Moscow, Minsk, Riga, Lvov, and the border areas of Lithuania. Armenians, Georgians, Azeris, and Uzbeks are increasing in numbers also.

Soviet pseudo-tourists have taken over Ruzycki market, as well as Warsaw stadiums, where they open bazaars for anyone interested in buying imported goods wholesale. They have also taken over the center of the city, where they display their primitive offerings right on the pavement (they sell liquor, cigarettes, household appliances). This aggressive illegal trade by our compatriots distressed the local authorities, and certain districts of Warsaw declared an open war on them. For their part the police will fight organized large-scale smuggling and the sale of cars stolen from the USSR, Poland, and West European countries; they will try to stop the flow of arms and drugs transported through their country. In his TV appearance yesterday K. Kozlowski, Poland's minister of internal affairs, said that they have information concerning the merging of the Soviet and Polish criminal worlds, and that this presents a serious danger for both countries.

Bulgarian Economic Problems Affect Relations

PM1009110690 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by TASS correspondent A. Smirnov: "Difficult Enlightenment. What Has Caused Economic and Political Instability in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Sofia—Bulgaria is going through a complex period in its history. Recent days have passed by under the sign of a very great political provocation—the burning and plundering of the building of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Supreme Council. Rampant extremism and the inability of the forces of law and order to suppress it do not inspire confidence that something similar or even worse will not occur again. Political instability in the country is being preserved against a background of the deepening economic crisis, the TASS correspondent in Sofia reports to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

The oil problem is the key to Bulgaria's entire economy. It extracts hardly any oil itself, relying entirely on deliveries from the USSR and Iraq, which was clearing its debts in this way. In connection with the well-known events in the Persian Gulf, however, the Iraqi deliveries have been reduced to zero, and Soviet deliveries are also being reduced.

All this could not fail to affect the country's economy. The cost of cab rides has already doubled, and travel by public transport is also set to cost more. The private traders in cooperative markets, who are obliged to bring in their produce from the countryside, have also responded promptly to this—vegetable and fruit prices have soared by one-third all at once.

Apart from everything else, the rise in the cost of living has caused an upsurge in anti-Soviet feeling, probably for the first time in many years. You frequently encounter this now, and not only at opposition rallies but also in everyday life. For example, I recently had to turn for assistance to the "Druzhba" car service organization, which was set up with our technical assistance to provide services for owners of Ladas and Moskviches. They refused because I am... Russian! "The Russians will not give us gasoline or spare parts, you know. So let them get all they need themselves!" Such is the logic. And other accusations are sometimes added to these: "Bulgarian stores are empty because the little republic is obliged to feed and clothe the Soviet Union."

Is this so? No one can answer this question better than V.I. Vasilyev, our trade representative in Sofia. And I went to him.

"The physical volume of exports of food and consumer goods from Bulgaria to the Soviet Union makes up an insignificant proportion of their production and consumption, and so you must not link the exacerbation of the situation on the consumer market in Bulgaria to these deliveries," Viktor Ivanovich said. He checked the figures and continued. "Last year, for example, Bulgaria sent to the USSR approximately 38,000 tonnes of meat and meat products and just over 9,000 tonnes of sheep's cheese—which amounts to four percent and nine percent respectively of their production in Bulgaria. And these deliveries diminished still further in the first half of this year. Exports of vegetables and fruit last year barely exceeded four percent of their production. And these deliveries too are constantly being reduced. Compared with 1986, they have fallen 37 percent. This applies particularly to exports of sweet cherries, peaches, and apricots, although this year's harvest is excellent. There are considerable reductions in deliveries of Bulgarian jams and syrups, for whose specific production the USSR supplies Bulgaria with 17,000 tonnes of sugar a year. Here I will say what used to be hushed up. For seven years, right up to 1985, the Soviet Union gave Bulgaria virtually free financial assistance on a large scale."

Touching on the question of Soviet oil deliveries, which is now particularly "sensitive" for Bulgaria, the trade representative pointed out that during 1988-1989 they were more than sufficient for the normal functioning of the Bulgarian economy. The steady fall in production in all Bulgarian sectors this year can in no way be linked with Soviet deliveries. Oil imports from the USSR really had fallen somewhat by the beginning of August, but not enough to have a noticeable effect on the work of industry or to lead to an increase in gasoline prices.

"It is another matter," Viktor Ivanovich said, "that the situation has recently become sharply more complicated in connection with the events in the Persian Gulf, and now it is impossible to foresee what oil deliveries to Bulgaria will be like by the end of the year."

My conversation with the trade representative coincided with a speech by Bulgarian Premier Andrey Lukanov in parliament, where, speaking of the country's situation and replying to the opposition's criticism, he said—for the first time so frankly—what strong economic ties with the USSR mean for Bulgaria and what will happen if these ties disintegrate. I will venture to dwell in greater detail on this speech, which was portentous in its own way, since precisely Bulgarian-Soviet economic relations have determined in the past, determine today, and will determine for many more years not only the situation in the republic's economy but also the living standards of the 9 million people.

Lukanov acknowledged the existence of complex problems in relations with partners in CEMA. The system of cooperation, which is living out its last weeks and months, is collapsing, he said. Of course, this gives Bulgaria an opportunity to be more independent and to strive more actively for integration with other countries. But this same circumstance gives rise to difficulties of adaptation, which the country is only now having to encounter. At the same time Lukanov called it unfair and unworthy to lay the blame for this on Bulgaria's main economic partner, that is, the Soviet Union.

In confirmation of these words the Bulgarian premier reported that in recent years, because of deviations from world prices, Bulgaria has received an additional income in trade with the USSR to the tune of 1.5-2 billion leva. Even now that the volume of Soviet exports has fallen, approximately 60 percent of them are made up of goods which can be sold on the world market at any moment without problems. But for Bulgarian exports to the Soviet Union this figure does not exceed 10-12 percent. The credit balance that now exists in Bulgaria's trade with the USSR appeared only at the end of 1988 and the beginning of 1989, and prior to that Bulgaria had been in debt to the Soviet Union for several years.

Speaking about the country's development prospects, Lukanov expressed the conviction that an agonizingly difficult transitional period faces Bulgaria in the next few years. We do not fully realize the upheavals which will be caused by the changes in the system of payments within the CEMA framework and in bilateral relations with these countries, primarily with the USSR, he said, bearing in mind the transition to hard-currency transactions. It is not just a change of currency and prices but a transition to trade on the world market, which no longer guarantees either our sales, which in some years amount to 10 billion foreign exchange rubles, or our imports, particularly raw materials, semimanufactures, and energy sources, Lukanov pointed out.

And what about the Soviet Union?

"If we do not want to lose irrevocably the Bulgarian market, which in the future can supply us with diverse industrial and agricultural products, we will still have to help Bulgaria with energy sources on making the switch to mutually advantageous relations," the Soviet trade representative believes. "Its economic and political stability today depends on our oil deliveries. Do we need this stability? I believe we do, since, with the organization of a market economy, Bulgaria's foreign trade potential will grow and the quality and the technical standard of the product will increase. As a result, we will compensate for today's expenses by securing a reliable and advantageous partner in the future."

No one today, with the possible exception of the well-known Bulgarian clairvoyant Vanga, will say what awaits Bulgaria in the very near future. And she has diagnosed for her country a period of "seven difficult years."

West Europe

Lukyanov Sees Visiting Swedish Parliamentarians

PM1009113990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin 7 September the Swedish Riksdag delegation headed by its Speaker T. Peterson, which is on an official visit to the Soviet Union.

A.I. Lukyanov familiarized the Swedish parliamentarians with the practical steps being taken in the USSR to radically renew all aspects of society's life and talked about the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The guests were also briefed on the main aspects of Soviet foreign policy.

T. Peterson and the other delegation members noted that the overcoming of difficulties in the USSR, the Soviet economy's gradual integration into the world economy, and the success of political transformations are in keeping with the international community's interests. They expressed support for the Soviet Union's large-scale peace initiatives and made a high assessment of our country's contribution to the resolution of the fundamental problems of the day.

Both sides expressed confidence that the Swedish parliamentarians' visit would promote the further development of ties, the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust between the USSR and Sweden, and the deepening of the all-European process and its parliamentary dimension.

Latvia's Gorbunovs Receives Norwegian Delegation

LD0609143490 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian
0430 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Excerpt] Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia, met yesterday with a delegation of deputies from the Norwegian Storting [parliament] who are visiting the Baltic states. There was an exchange of views about the situation in the Baltic region and about the wider integration of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the European process, in both the political and economic spheres. The deputies from the Norwegian Storting also met with leaders and members of several commissions of the Supreme Council. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministry Hails Commander's UK Visit

LD1109102690 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT
11 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sisnev]

[Text] London September 11 TASS—First Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy Konstantin Makarov arrived in Britain on a five-day visit at the invitation of the British naval command.

During his visit, he will hold talks with Defence Secretary Tom King, naval chief of staff Julian Oswald and other military leaders. He is also expected to visit the royal naval schools in Greenwich and Dartmouth and naval training centres in Plymouth and Portsmouth.

A press release by the Defence Ministry stresses that the visit is another step towards the development of a dialogue between the British and Soviet Armed Forces.

TASS Reports British Communist Party Changes

LD1009135690 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT
10 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Sisnev]

[Text] London September 10 TASS—The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Britain on Sunday decided to submit for the consideration of the party emergency congress radical changes in the party, including its renaming. The congress is scheduled between December 8-9 in London.

The committee adopted a draft resolution, stressing the need to democratise the party and transform it into an open political organisation, whose members will be able to voice different points of view on processes in the country, British Communist Party Press Secretary Joe Marshall told TASS.

The committee decided to name the party "The Radical Socialist Federation."

Latin America & Caribbean

Latin American 'Expert' Assesses Ties With Cuba

PY1109034090 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America
2300 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] In recent months some Soviet publications have devoted their pages to articles by authors who are critical, in one way or another, of Soviet-Cuban relations. These publications are the newspapers LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, among others. In view of this, we asked Sergo

Mikoyan, a prominent Soviet Latin America expert and former chief editor of the USSR Academy of Sciences magazine LATIN AMERICA, to comment on these articles and on Soviet public opinion regarding Soviet-Cuban relations. He said:

I believe our public is currently characterized by some degree of elitism. Our people have grown extremely tired after being deceived for decades on many issues. Thus, they now believe that everything that was regarded as positive in the past was truly not the best thing, but the contrary. This is, of course, a rather childish attitude that distorts reality.

For instance, while imperialism was criticized in the past—and in this there was also some exaggeration, with which I disagree—today, our public opinion is inclined to believe that everything goes very well in a capitalist system. This belief surprises even some foreigners from capitalist countries who visit the USSR.

These ideas, which we cannot regard as healthy, are reflected in the press. Many articles criticizing anything related to past events in the USSR are published. This gives the impression that there has been no achievement in 70 years in the Soviet Union. This trend of criticizing everything is not limited to our country, but extends to the international sector.

Our people are no longer satisfied with the socialist model that existed in East Europe and the Soviet Union. Thus, other socialist countries have also come under fire. This is why some articles criticizing life in Cuba have recently been published in the USSR.

Another important fact, Mikoyan said, is that there is a mistaken notion here that our economic difficulties stem from, shall we say, having given too much aid to other countries. I believe this is to a certain extent the fruit of our own propaganda, which greatly emphasized Soviet aid and the ordinary people were led to believe that this aid is at the center of all of their problems. In reality, our aid to other countries can in no way be compared to the losses provoked by disorder and flaws in our economic organization.

It is not by severing economic relations with other countries that we will resolve our problems, but through restructuring our economy. Unfortunately, not everyone can understand this.

One day I was watching television and I heard an athlete who practices yachting saying: I believe everything is very simple: If we stop aiding Cuba and Nicaragua, we will have more money for our yacht clubs. I was astonished by such a foolish, primitive statement.

I thought, however, that although it was foolish, that remark reflected the opinion of many ill-informed people. They believe this is the root of our problems, when we are actually losing tens of millions [unit not specified] in construction, agriculture, and industry. We often convert our metal into shavings, let our produce rot, and so forth. Yet, some people believe that the real cause of our problems is the miniscule portion of our resources we earmark for economic relations with other countries. This is actually not really aid, but normal relations with Cuba, Vietnam, or with any other country.

In sum, I do not believe these erroneous ideas—irrespective of how widespread they are—reflect the opinion of the entire people. These ideas are promoted by some journalists, the most vociferous, sensationalist ones in our country.

There are, however, other realistic people who are capable of correcting these types of ideas. I also see the Soviet press carrying other types of articles, which are questioning those attacking Cuba and Soviet ties with Cuba. I can mention recent positive articles on Cuba published by the weekly NEW TIMES and by the newspapers (MOSKOWSKI KOMSOMOL) and MOSCOW NEWS.

Commentary Examines Left's Role in Bolivia

PM1009164290 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 36, 4-10 Sep 90 pp 14-15

[Article by Vitaliy Sobolev, incorporating interview with Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora: "Meeting on the Bridge of Democracy Over a River of Blood"]

[Excerpts] La Paz-Havana—This poorest South American country, located amidst the Andes, seems to have succeeded to some extent in accomplishing what its far richer neighbours - Brazil and Argentina - sought and are still seeking to achieve. As a result of government measures to stabilize the economy, inflation in Bolivia has been reduced to acceptable figures. The country was able to avoid any smashing of super-markets and a sharp drop in production - for the past three years it has been growing at an annual rate of 2.5 percent.

The meeting of the Nationalist Democratic Action (NDA) led by Hugo Banzer Suarez and the Left Revolutionary Movement (LRM), founded in 1971 by Jaime Paz Zamora, "on the bridge of democracy over a river of blood," to quote Zamora, was unprecedented in Latin American history.

This convergence of what had been left-wing radical movements and which today are the moderate left LRM and the NDA headed by the former military dictator (from 1971 to 1978) became possible after J. Paz Zamora was elected head of state in 1989. He is 50 years old, the son of a general. He was a seminarist, professor of sociology, diplomat and vice-president. Ten years ago he was involved in an air crash and was the only survivor. To this day the scars of that crash can be seen on his swarthy face. I asked President Paz Zamora whether anything had been done over the past year that could testify that a left-wing party and a left-wing president were at the helm of the country.

"To begin with," replied the President, "the concept of left-wing and right-wing in Bolivia today—like everywhere else in the world—is different from what it was in the past. Bolivians are not so much concerned with whether a person is a left-winger or a right-winger, but rather who governs more effectively and finds the best solutions to problems, who can modernize society and the state, who ensures the people a more active role in the life of the country. So the government's record is judged not by ideological yardsticks, but by its practical results—democratic stability, the strength of the economy, its growth, investments, employment, higher wages, as well as social development.

"Left-wingers and I—and I consider myself a left-winger—believe it is important to attract investments and increase the number of jobs. The left must turn the present stability, which resembles more the calm of a cemetery, into economic advancement and social progress. Thus, decree No. 22407 has publicicized our national housing programme.

"Second, it should be noted that there always remains in society a mode of thought and a trend that is described as left-wing. It encompasses a concern for the people, for the very poor. And the leadership will always feel the impact of this trend. We have been able to bring together around our programme the left, the centre and the right, although operating with such a breadth of political feeling is a very delicate affair."

"Is there any difference between the Paz Zamora and the LRM of twenty years ago and today?"

"Had there been no evolution—and times change and we change with them—we would have suffered a historic defeat. But our ideological and political evolution followed step with the realities and could be said to have been programmed. We founded the LRM in order to give the left a chance to come to power. For at that time, the Bolivian left stood no chance, nor did it enjoy any trust on a national or international scale. We wanted to found a left-wing organization capable of modernizing the country, not isolating it. Had we not founded the LRM or had it taken a different road, the country today would have been ruled solely by the right. So the LRM upset their plans somewhat. We appeared on the scene, nominated a presidential candidate, and the right had to put up with it. Despite some of our mistakes, I think we did the right thing.

"Yes, I'm not the same Jaime Paz I was twenty years ago, but nor is there a deep chasm between me then and today."

"In some countries even ministers belonging to same party do not always find a common language. How do you manage to come to join decisions with the NDA?"

"From the very beginning, the underlying principle of the government was that it was a cabinet of Paz Zamora. Therefore differences of opinion did not lead to conflicts. We achieved this not only thanks to the ministers' political and personal trust in the President, but also thanks to the consultative mechanism at a different level in the Patriotic Agreement. Moreover, at Cabinet meetings we have never yet put issues to a vote, since all measures are finally adopted by a consensus." [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet

Further on Lukyanov's 8 Sep Press Conference

PM1109084790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Kremlin report by parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and A. Stepovoy: "All Items on the Agenda Are Equally Important"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists 8 September.

The country's Supreme Soviet Presidium, he said, has most thoroughly examined all proposals regarding the forthcoming session's agenda. It will be an especially tense session seeing that it will be held in a difficult, complex, and tense time. The questions which it is intended to examine will enable the USSR Supreme Soviet to play its role as an organ stabilizing the situation in the country.

It is planned to examine 31 draft laws. Not a single one of the three preceding sessions has hitherto managed to perform such a volume of work. Are these plans realistic? To be honest, we are not sure, bearing in mind that a Congress of USSR People's Deputies is still to be held at the end of this year—it will have to deal with the Supreme Soviet's rotation which has already been delayed by almost six months, and to resolve a series of other questions.

The legal acts to be examined by parliament during its fourth session can be divided, in A.I. Lukyanov's words, in several major blocs. The first comprises measures on the transition to a market economy and the draft laws associated with it. A program for transition to the market via stabilization of the economy will be submitted for examination by deputies. It is well known that, at its last session, the Supreme Soviet recommended that the government should do some more work on its program. Work was done simultaneously on proposals submitted by a large group of specialists, scientists, and representatives of the republics which was formed on instructions from the USSR president and the chairman of Russia's Supreme Soviet. A conference under M.S. Gorbachev's leadership, attended by representatives of the USSR Council of Ministers and the republic governments, ended about midnight on 7 September after having decided that a single draft for transition to the market will be submitted to members of the USSR Supreme Soviet. A series of positions have yet to be fully worked out and are at odds with one another, and therefore may be submitted to the parliamentarians as alternatives.

The draft's discussion, as the chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet informed journalists, will take place simultaneously in the Union parliament and in republican parliaments. Legislators from each republic will be able to express their attitude toward the document. An entire package of new legal acts, ensuring the program's success, will have to be examined in connection with the transition to the market. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has arrived at the conclusion that the market can and must be Union-wide. There must be uniform banknotes, a single customs system, a flexible Union-republic banking system....

The USSR Council of Ministers has already submitted 13 new draft laws.

At the same time the Supreme Soviet will have to examine the country's plan and budget for 1991. Without going into a detailed description of these documents, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet noted: They are aimed at stabilization, and at the same time at adoption of market relations; only the Union budget will be examined on this occasion.

Work on the new Union treaty is continuing under the USSR president's leadership.

In A.I. Lukyanov's words, considerably more attention must be given to the Supreme Soviet's monitoring functions. And even though he himself admitted that this aspect of the parliamentarians' activity is somewhat belated, reports will be heard on the fulfillment of a series of resolutions, specifically those concerning the Aral Sea and the programs for eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear power station] accident.

The proposed agenda also contains a decision on the final fate of a series of draft laws which have already been examined at first reading during previous sessions. They include the draft law on travel out of the USSR which has become the stumbling block in the development of many of our economic and political contacts with the West.

As you can see, much work lies ahead. But as we have seen on several previous occasions, many of our legislators' intentions have come up against the tough realities of our increasingly complex life. Journalists asked quite a few questions on this topic. Questions by IZVESTIYA's correspondents:

"For a long time now society has been increasingly alarmed because many laws, once adopted by the Supreme Soviet, have remained virtually unimplemented due to the lack of appropriate implementation mechanisms. Does the Supreme Soviet leadership have any fresh proposals and ideas about mechanisms to implement adopted legal acts?"

"It is necessary to struggle for the quality of laws themselves and to ensure that provision for all these mechanisms is made in enabling legislation and acts by the USSR Council of Ministers, the president, and the Union republics. Why is it, for example, that the Law on Land is being so slowly implemented? Because we are still lacking the relevant land law codes in Union republics. The fact that the Russian Federation was quicker than others to produce and publish a draft is all to the good.

"It cannot be said that all the laws are ineffective. By way of an example I would mention one law that has had a direct impact—the Law on the Press. But we must do more than just hear reports on the fulfillment of adopted laws—it is necessary to adopt enabling legislative acts which would provide the implementation mechanisms. The country's leadership—the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the government—are fully resolved to enhance responsibility for the fulfillment of what has been planned. We cannot allow any further slackening of discipline, we need to be demanding, we need to take people strictly to task. Those who carefully observe the president's and the government's actions can say: People are being taken to task."

"There are, however, other fears in this context. A series of articles by well known specialists and statements by individual republic leaders—I have B. Yeltsin's press conference in mind—have voiced serious and solidly argued doubts about whether the present cabinet would be able to cope with the market program. What is the Supreme Soviet leadership's stance, bearing in mind that one deputy premier said something along these lines: If attacks on the government continue, we will appeal directly to the people over the Supreme Soviet's head?"

"The proposal to examine the question concerning the government's resignation was discussed by the Supreme Soviet three months ago and was voted down by a qualified majority. If such a proposal were submitted at the current session, it would have to be examined according to constitutional procedures. In other words, we will first have to examine a report by the government and take into account the opinion of Supreme Soviet committees and commissions. In the event of the government's activity being deemed unsatisfactory, it would be possible to put the question of changing the government's composition or of lack of confidence in the government. Any resolution on this question would have to be adopted by a qualified majority—two-thirds of Supreme Soviet members.

"You, of course, want to know about the opinion of the Supreme Soviet's chairman. But I must stand above all arguments and must not let my opinion influence any decisionmaking. Let us hear the opinion of the Supreme Soviet and its deputies. Even though I can certainly tell you that I am in favor of stability in the country, of strengthening all levers of power and management."

Deputy Proposes Adopting Alternative Agenda

LD1009112990 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The speech delivered at the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet by Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak resembled a report. On behalf of the interregional group of deputies he moved to adopt another agenda, because, he believes, the agenda proposed by the presidium contains many secondary problems that "should not be discussed now at all."

Sobchak moved to discuss first of all the role and functions of top state bodies in the light of the declarations on sovereignty adopted by the Union republics. Otherwise, he noted, all the legislative activity of the Supreme Soviet may prove "futile."

Sobchak said that the Supreme Soviet should not merely be informed about another government programme, but given an evaluation of the current economic situation by the present of the country and the head of government. He also raised the question of a vote of confidence in the Ryzhkov cabinet. "Today we have absolutely no right to leave in office a government that has proved incapable of pulling the country out of crisis," Sobchak stressed.

He also moved to consider the calling of a Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and its agenda, to discuss the president's decrees from the point of view of their effectiveness and legality, measures to enhance the security of the society and the citizens, and to start a parliamentary investigation to see whether instructions and orders, in force within the KGB system, conform to Soviet legislation.

Other problems proposed for discussion by the interregional group include the Soviet Union's international situation in the light of the Gulf events, the food situation and preparations for winter. Anatoliy Sobchak called for the Soviet Union's gold reserve and money emission to be put under parliamentary control.

Nonconfidence Motion Against Ryzhkov Proposed

LD1009154190 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] The interregional group of law-makers has tabled a nonconfidence motion for Nikolay Ryzhkov's cabinet in the Soviet Parliament. Speaking on the group's behalf at the opening session of parliament today, the mayor of Leningrad, Anatoliy Sobchak, charged the government with inability to lead the country out of the crisis.

He also spoke in favor of discussing the international situation in the light of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait and the USSR's ties with Iraq. Sobchak urged legislators to examine the situation in the State Security Committee and expose that department's budget.

A spokesman for the parliament's Youth Affairs Committee has disclosed that this body had decided to investigate the activities by the State Security Committee which, according to a number of its former officers, has been accompanied by abuses.

There are plans to investigate claims by former State Security General Oleg Kalugin, elected to the Soviet parliament.

Debates flared up over the session's agenda in which the parliament's speaker, Anatoliy Lukyanov, suggested including a package of bills on transition to a market economy. The package includes bills on banks, on the fundamentals of prices formation, on monetary circulation and foreign investment, on enterprise and employment. The member Aleksandr Dzasokhov proposed that at the start of its session parliament should appeal to the Soviet people for national concord in the current critical period of history.

Sobchak Wants Role of 'Supreme Bodies' Examined

LD1009214790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Novitskaya]

[Excerpt] Additions to the [Union treaty] draft began right from the very first speech in the [Supreme Soviet] debates, and 23 deputies in all managed to speak. Of course the attention of the debate's participants was drawn to the proposals by the Interregional Deputies' Group which put forward an alternative draft agenda. At its instruction, Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak addressed deputies, and he stressed that while he agreed with a great deal he was nevertheless proposing his own alternatives.

[Begin Sobchak recording] So we propose that the matter of changing the role and functions of the supreme bodies of state power, taking into account the declarations of sovereignty adopted by the republics, he examined as the first matter on the agenda. The need to examine this matter is dictated, in our view, by the following reasons: First, the Supreme Soviet's entire work on adopting laws may turn out to be futile if the Union republics, proceeding from the adopted declarations on their sovereignty, refuse to implement the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet.

The second matter concerns the economic situation in the country, measures to stabilize the national economy, and the programs for the transition to a market economy. This matter virtually coincides with what we have proposed in the agenda with only one difference: We wish to hear not simply the latest government program—we have already heard two and both have turned out to be untenable in the course of this past year alone—we wish to hear from the lips of the country's president and the head of the government an appraisal of the country's present economic state so as to see how realistically and critically they evaluate the present situation, and from this point of view to appraise all those programs which may be or are being put to us for the transition to a market economy, and above all the stabilization of the economic situation in the country. But unfortunately, even today, until these programs are put forward we can only make suppositions as to what kind of program will ultimately be presented to us.

The third matter—and I would even give it top priority despite the relatively particular nature, it would seem, of this matter—is the issue of the state of the country's gold reserves and the emissions of money and transfer of control over the latter to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. We believe that the further uncontrolled emission of money carried out by the government under the guidance of the Politburo of the Communist Party may lead to an even worse crisis and cancel out any measures for the economic improvement of society. We must immediately adopt a decision on transferring control over the emission of money from the gold reserves to the Supreme Soviet, create a special committee, and investigate the activity of the government and Politburo in the emission of money and spending of the gold reserves over the past five years; and the Supreme Soviet should adopt a most principled decision on these matters. This concerns the whole country, the people as a whole, and all the Union republics. [end recording]

[Novitskaya] Time prevents me from giving Sobchak's speech in full but I will, all the same, enumerate the other matters which the Interregional Deputies' Group believes need to be examined: on the international stance of the USSR in connection with the events in the Persian Gulf; on a vote of no-confidence in the government of the USSR; on the provision of foodstuffs for the population and preparations for winter; on the adoption, by this session naturally, of only those laws that affect the main political rights of our citizens; on the decrees of the USSR president; and on measures to strengthen the security of society and of citizens. The speaker argued each of these points thoroughly, and of course the matter of a vote of no-confidence in the government caused tension between deputies and very serious debates. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Deputies Question Lukyanov

LD1009224290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] The deputies had a hard day at today's session of the USSR Supreme Soviet even though only the agenda and procedures for work at the session were discussed. This is understandable, however. The situation in the country is complex and public opinion is in a ferment. Urgent polemics are under way on ways to further develop the country. Determining the role of the country's higher organs of power in this situation of tackling this or that complex task is not easy. It was from this background that USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov began his report to the session. Here is his opinion about the role and significance of he Supreme Soviet:

[Begin Lukyanov recording] In view of this, recent proposals to cut down the work of the congress and the USSR Supreme Soviet, or even to dissolve them, are absolutely unfounded. To render the country's parliament ineffective at such a complex and urgent time in its history, when the fate of peoples is being decided and when a new line of the development of society is making tortuous and contradictory progress, would mean letting renewal slide. To prevent those whom the people trust to wield supreme state power from taking part in the processes of perestroyka is a step that would inevitably destabilize the system of government even more, increase lawlessness and anarchy, and set back all our ideas and practical deeds to create a law-governed state. This is not to mention the fact that it would run counter to the will of the electorate who gave the country's deputies a mandate of trust. It would rightly be seen as an evasion of meeting the obligations to the people that the deputies have assumed.

As you know, the Supreme Soviet has paid the greatest attention to the problems of the economy and its transition to market relations. The creation of a full-blooded market constitutes the heart of the economic reform. That is why the entire complex of problems connected with the determined introduction of market relations faces the Supreme Soviet today as a central task. Taking this into account, the Supreme Soviet Presidium deems it essential to single out measures on the transition to the market economy and the draft laws linked to it as the first group of questions to be put up for consideration at the current session.

The Union parliament will be dealing with a synthesis of the most varied opinions and the collective labor of many people who have endeavored to untangle the most complex knots in our national economy's development. Moreover, consideration of proposals for practical steps to stabilize the economy and to transfer to the market will take place at the USSR Supreme Soviet as well as at the supreme soviets of the Union republics. This is of exceptional importance, since such an unusual method of developing a concept of embarking upon market relations will provide an opportunity to make that concept concrete with regard to the specific features of each region and each sovereign state that is part of the USSR. [end recording]

Anatoliy Ivanovich also dealt in detail on other matters on the agenda. Naturally, the transition to a market economy will require the adoption of a whole series of laws and of additions to those already adopted by the Supreme Soviet. An equally important block of questions is linked to the plan and budget for the coming year. Of course the Union treaty will be at the center of attention. As you know, representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet have taken an active part in the consultations to draft a new Union treaty. A committee to draft it has already been formed and will begin work in September. Naturally, the country's Supreme Soviet must stay current about what is going on and must, as Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov put it, carry out a kind of synchronization of watches.

I should say here that it was clear to everyone that it is, above all, the republics that must adopt the Union treaty. It is their signatures that must reinforce that document. Then again, there is a whole series of other draft laws proposed for discussion at this session. It seems to me that Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov's report was both exhaustive and sufficiently well grounded. However, once he had finished, the deputies asked the chairman of the Supreme Soviet questions for almost an hour.

Let us listen to two questions and answers which I think are the most typical. And so, a question from Deputy Dhanasbayev from Kazakhstan:

[Begin recording] [Dhanasbayev] The first question concerns the Union treaty. This is one of the most important questions. Will we not be working in vain at the USSR Supreme Soviet session if we do not adopt the Union treaty?

[Lukyanov] Can we act before adopting a Union treaty? Drafting it will take time, but I ask deputies to pay attention to the fact that the declarations of the Union republics, which you have today, have a whole series of very similar provisions on the competence of the Union. It is just on these questions, where there is a coincidence of opinion of the overwhelming majority of Union republics, that we propose examining legislation. Say that all republics have concluded that the market should be all-Union. If it is, there arise a whole series of questions: pricing, the credit system, the currency system. The government has tabled its proposals only on these questions. So in this case we are relying on the consent of the republics, and we are trying not to go beyond this framework; but if we do not adopt this legislation now, we will slow down the very movement toward the market. That is extremely important. All republics and all deputies agree that this movement must be radically faster. [end recording]

Now, let us listen to Deputy Burbulis from Sverdlovsk. His question:

[Begin recording] [Burbulis] Will you please clarify what program of transition to the market economy the government plans to put forward tomorrow? Do you personally consider that it is correct to do this without information and distribution of materials to deputies about those other existing programs?

[Lukyanov] The USSR president thinks—and he has asked that this be conveyed to the deputies—that the Supreme Soviet, like the supreme soviets of the Union republics, deal with one program which will be tabled by the joint group under the president's direction. The government will report appropriately within the framework of that program, as far as I know. [muttering in hall] I think—bear with me, let me finish—I think the Supreme Soviet is interested precisely in the unity of such a program. This does not exclude the fact that this program may have alternative options. It may have—they have been conveyed to the commissions—

alternative options from others and analyses of all alternatives. I do not see anything terrible in this.

I think, comrades, that on the whole the comrade deputies who have done so much to rally the country to democratism and to pluralism of opinion should only be glad that in this program we have so many options, that we have the opportunity to compare these options, and that we have the opportunity—we had the opportunity when the group put forward its own options. This prompted the government to take a fresh view of a whole series of questions.

On the other hand, the group was prompted to take a more realistic attitude about many questions of elaborating the movement towards the market and stabilizing the economy. So, I think this is a natural process, and the final decision will lie with the Supreme Soviet. [end recording]

Agenda Proposed by Presidium Rejected

LD1009184590 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The fourth session of the Soviet Parliament began work here today. Reporting on the forum agenda, Parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov called upon deputies to "identify with utmost clarity the role to be played by the country's supreme bodies of authority in accomplishing tasks to further economic and political reforms."

Lukyanov said the movement towards a market was the core of reforms under way in the Soviet Union.

Many speakers used the rostrum not to discuss the agenda but to make political statements. Nikolay Sazoznov, a representative of Social Democrats, for instance, said that roots of the present crisis were to be sought in "decades of communist ideological domination and the reluctance of the country's ruling structures to promote radical transformations."

Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak proposed an alternative agenda on behalf of the Interregional Deputy Group.

Parliamentarians differed on two major issues—the agenda of the session and confidence in the government headed by Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Parliamentary Committee Chairman Yuriy Kalmykov insisted that the reorganisation of the government was inevitable because society's mood and the state of affairs were conditions on the move, while radical Ukrainian journalists Alla Yaroshinskaya called for a vote on "the government of lost confidence."

Moscow Scientist Aleksandr Zhuravlev proposed leaving no more than three items on the agenda—a concept of the transition to a market economy, a new Union treaty and the changing role and functions of the central bodies of state authority following the adoption by Union republics of declarations of sovereignty.

According to Nikolay Travkin, there is no point in discussing any other items if no agreement is reached on the first item—an economic union.

The audience strongly reacted to Deputy Gennadiy Burbulis's statement that he had received information about a special task force being set up in the Ryazan Paratrooper Officer School "for an unspecified purpose". The school, he said, has been placed on red alert. He said that a paratrooper regiment was advancing towards Moscow while a paratrooper regiment from Pskov had landed in Ryazan.

Burbulis asked the Soviet defence minister for clarification. A few minutes later, Lukyanov explained that a regiment from Ryazan was on its way to Moscow to prepare for a military parade in honour of the Soviet national holiday—the seventh of November, and a regiment from Pskov was heading for Ryazan for a training spell there.

After a prolonged discussion, the agenda proposed by the Presidium was rejected and Parliament decided to discuss on Tuesday "urgent measures to stabilise the national economy and to switch over to a regulated market economy."

It was also decided to review the Parliamentary procedure on Tuesday, taking into account the proposals made by the presidium and the Interregional Group.

An exchange of views on the situation in Transcaucasia developed into sharp altercations between deputies representing Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Chairman Lukyanov Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD1009214990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1840 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Address by USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov at opening of the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 10 September in the Kremlin, Moscow—recorded]

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet considers it necessary, as the first group of questions being submitted for examination by the present session, to single out precise measures for transition to the market economy and bills connected with them. As you know, the process of drafting the proposal for transition to the market was complicated and, it can be said, pluralistic in full measure. I remind you that the USSR Supreme Soviet back in June of this year instructed the government to make amendments to the documents debated at the third session and submit by September a set of interconnected measures for formation of the structure and mechanism of the market economy.

Alongside the measure devised by the government, substantial proposals were drafted by scientists and experts belonging to the collective created by the USSR president and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. A group of independent experts analyzed about 120 alternative drafts. After discussion of all these materials at the session of the Council and of the Federation and the Presidential Council on 30 and 31 August, agreement on the existing disputed questions under the direction of the USSR President was made with the participation of representatives of the governments of all the Union republics.

In this way, the Union parliament will be dealing with a synthesis of the most varied opinions, with a collective work of many people who have striven to untangle the main knots of development of our national economy. Examination of the proposals for practical steps for stabilizing the economy and transition to the market will take place not only in the USSR Supreme Soviet but also in the Supreme Soviets of the Union republics. This is extremely important since such an unconventional method of working out the concept of entry into market relations will provide the opportunity to concretize this concept as applied to the special features of each region, each sovereign state belonging to the USSR.

It is also important to note that at the same time work will continue on establishing a legal basis for the emergence of market relations. In this connection, the government was instructed to present to the Supreme Soviet between August-October drafts of a number of fundamental laws. To date, 13 drafts have been handed over. You have them in front of you, comrade Deputies, including the fundamentals of legislation on investment activity, on employment, on social insurance of the disabled, on pricing, laws on banks, on currency regulation, on customs dues, and others. You have these bills; they were conveyed to the committees and commissions earlier.

During September-October the Council of Ministers proposes submitting several more bills, and this will bring the total number of acts connected with the transition to market relations to about twenty.

At the same time the government, as it was instructed by the 13 June Supreme Soviet resolution, is working on the adoption of its own and the drafting of presidential acts directed at the introduction of the market. In particular, resolutions have already been issued on joint stock companies, on development of small enterprises, and on antimonopoly policy which will later undoubtedly have to be drafted and adopted in the form of appropriate laws. Here however I would like to make one explanation, comrades: During the drafting and adoption of these acts, as during the elaboration of the concept of the introduction of market relations, voices were and are being heard saying some laws recently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet should be amended and even repealed.

What are we to do? To what extent are such demands justified? Indeed, the changes in the country's economic situation are rapid. They do of course expose and will continue to expose the imperfections of particular legislative provisions we adopted. But this hardly justified repudiating a Union law and demanding its repeal in haste at first glance, and sometimes even before it has come into force. Let the need for such a thing be demonstrated by practice, be confirmed by the very experience of the transition to the market. Especially as on the basis of the recently adopted legislative acts, work should be done and is already being done on drafting the plan and budget of the USSR and the republics for next year. This work must not be stopped—must not be slowed down—if we want to seriously administer the national economy, and especially stabilize it.

It is proposed to include in the agenda of the session as a separate question, which also requires the closest attention of deputies, the draft state plan for economic and social development and the state budget for 1991. What should we bear in mind here, comrades? First of all, the fact that the content of the plan and budget and their preparation in government bodies and examination in the Supreme Soviet will differ substantially from current practice. Next year—the year of the stabilization of the economy and entry into market relations—brings to the forefront completely new matters and tasks. These are a counter to inflation and a linkage of incomes, support for enterprise and the sale of some enterprises to private family ownership, the introduction of measures on the social protection of the population, and—this is the main thing—the utmost and the strictest saving of state funds. At the same time it will be necessary to ensure the uninterrupted financing of the social programs we have adopted and to achieve the fulfilment of the decisions of the second session on the considerable reduction in the budget deficit.

An extremely important point of the whole work of the present Supreme Soviet session is the fact that it will be held at a time when the destiny of our multinational Union is being decided. We are growing more and more convinced of the need for its fundamental renewal and reformation into a Union of sovereign states and the creation of conditions for the national rebirth and self-determination of each Soviet people. It is precisely this which constitutes the path towards mutual understanding and cooperation among the Soviet nationalities and the elimination of interethnic conflicts, the acute nature of which unfortunately is not diminishing. That is why the preparation of a new Union treaty has now become one of the most urgent problems. This work has already become a practicality. It is based upon a rather extensive mass of documents, both in the form of Union laws connected with the delimitation of the powers of the Union and the federation entities, and all those important points which are contained in the declarations on sovereignty adopted in the majority of Union and—now—autonomous republics as well.

We are today faced with the task of collating, as it were condensing all that is most valuable and constructive in these documents which unites the sovereign republics and requires their common efforts. It is in those areas where such common efforts and common concern for the good of the country are required that the need arises to delegate certain powers to an interrepublican level and to pass them on to bodies of the USSR whose functions should be outlined precisely and unambiguously. The sovereign republics themselves must bear the responsibility for everything else.

I have not made a slip of the tongue, comrades. For sovereignty is not just a sum total of the rights which may be implemented by an independent state, but full responsibility for everything that happened on its territory. That is why concluding a new Union treaty means dividing responsibility for the implementation of perestroyka at the center and in the provinces, ensuring the decentralization of administration which is so absolutely necessary in such a huge state as ours, and transfering from more republics to the competence of the Soviet Union only those powers which enable the rights of Soviet people to be guaranteed and ensure the full-blooded and normal functioning of our society as a single entity.

As a matter of fact, the majority of the republics have already actively engaged in this work. As is known, consultative meetings between the working group of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers and representatives of 12 republics have been held in Moscow. At these there was a detailed exchange of views on the widest range of issues in preparing a new Union treaty.

The positions on the main conceptual problems were revealed more clearly. It is understandable that these positions do not always coincide. At times the vision of a Union treaty in the republics is quite different, and the very coordination of these viewpoints will not be easy. This was noted at a recent meeting of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council whose participants, having positively assessed the significance of work already done, agreed to form a committee to prepare a new Union treaty. This committee, comprising high-ranking state leaders of the Union republics—including the USSR president, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers—will start its work in September, step-by-step bringing the positions closer together and working out common approaches in order, ultimately to find a optimum version of this fundamental document.

In order for the USSR Supreme Soviet to be au courant and to ensure a kind of additional synchronization of watches in elaborating a Union treaty, the Supreme Soviet Presidium regards it expedient to hear at the current session a report on the progress of this very important work, bearing in mind that subsequently the main directions in the preparation of and the procedure for concluding a new Union treaty will evidently become the subject of discussion at the next USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Here, comrades, it makes sense to touch upon, if only briefly, a further aspect which has appeared in connection with the preparation of a new Union treaty. The thing is that some deputies are speaking in favor of us refraining in general from adopting any kind of new Union laws at all before the confirmation of the treaty, inasmuch as the sword of Damocles is allegedly hanging over them in any case—non-recognition by republics which have proclaimed the primacy of republican over Union laws.

I think that such a position does not withstand criticism either from the political and juridical or from the economic points of view. In the political and juridical aspect, it should be perfectly clear. Inasmuch as the powers of the Union may be changed only with the consent of all and not every individual republic, then while a new Union treaty is not signed it is necessary to unconditionally observe the effective Constitution and law of the USSR issued within the limits of its competence; otherwise the whole legal system which exists in our country and the broadest sphere of public relations will be placed in doubt. A significant portion of them are now directly regulated by Union legislation and, in the current circumstances, to seek in one hour to replace thousands of Union norms with republican ones is simply not within the capabilities of any one republic, comrades.

This also fully relates to drafts of those laws which were considered by the Supreme Soviet in the first reading and which it is now proposed to include in the agenda of our session. There are eight such draft laws. Of these, in the second reading, it is intended to consider and adopt laws on public associations of citizens; on the freedom of conscience of religious organizations; on vacations; on the Soviet militia; and on the procedure for leaving and entering the USSR.

The first four drafts, as you know, were published for broad discussion. Our attitude both toward the draft law on the procedure for recalling a USSR people's deputy—which has also been published in the press and which should subsequently be submitted for the consideration of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies—has yet to be defined.

In the very near future we will evidently also have to address a draft law on trade unions—it has been presented by the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions]—the more so as this law is closely linked with the law on public associations. A large group of draft laws is being presented for examination at first reading. The list of them has been carefully studied and distributed to all people's deputies. Quite an extensive legislative program is thus being presented to the fourth session, and it will not be easy to master it. But we simply have no other way out, comrades. In the course of discussing the proposed agenda, changes and additions to it are of course possible. They have already been submitted to the Supreme Soviet Presidium. But on the whole I think that the agenda which has been proposed meets both the demands of life and the demands of the situation.

Deputy Dzasokhov on Tasks Omitted From Agenda

LD1009224190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1911 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Remarks by Deputy Aleksandr Dzasokhov at USSR Supreme Soviet session 10 September in the Kremlin, Moscow—recorded]

[Text] I believe that the agenda which has been proposed by and large corresponds to the discussions with which we completed our previous session, and the most fundamental questions have been transferred to the draft agenda. Nevertheless, I would like to single out two topics emphasized in the proposed version of issues and distinguished by long-term importance. The first is our intention, will, and decision to implement major changes within our society and in the economy, that is to initiate market relations. The second is a task linked with this direction, that is a Union treaty. To various extents—obviously, but nevertheless—from the flow of information which is coming in from the Supreme Soviet among others, we can state today that intensive consultations are taking place between the Supreme Soviet, its leadership, and competent delegations of the Union republics.

These two tasks which are of vital importance, from my point of view, and which require just one indispensable condition—ensuring a high level of civil concord during this transitional period, something that the preceding speakers spoke about using different terminology but showing similar concern. Therefore I submit a proposal to the effect that our authoritative meeting, where not only members of the Supreme Soviet but also very many people's deputies are present, should consider it possible to appeal to Soviet citizens, calling on them to provide in the next few months a high level of concord and preparedness in order to interact in the interests of implementing these two major directions in our work. I think that an appeal by the Supreme Soviet will find a response in our society and, wherever possible, tension will be lifted to a considerable degree.

The second point, comrades: I believe in the sincere nature of the proposals that have been voiced here, to the effect that there are issues not mentioned in the draft agenda. But I think it necessary to comment on this. First, from my point of view the total idea of completely replacing the agenda is regrettable. After all, according to the laws of basic logic, there are coincidences; at least six or seven points are already mentioned in the proposed draft. And some of those named in the alternative draft agenda may be implemented, and not necessarily in the form of an individual independent major issue. The proposal to carve out the functions of the Supreme Soviet—within which we have begun to work out a Union treaty—at this stage is debatable and doubtful, and it is the same Supreme Soviet which hatched the idea of examining the market on a practical plane. Therefore, the question of the functions of all levels of soviets, especially including the Supreme Soviet, cannot be regarded in isolation from its mission to bring the matters which have been embarked upon to their conclusion.

[Lukyanov] Two minutes.

[Dzasokhov] Yes, I am finishing. Furthermore, comrades, truly major changes have taken place. To be frank, for me it was strange that some of my colleagues at the very first session and during the very first minutes—with all respect for their biographies and status—again appealed to Parliament, to the Supreme Soviet, about the events that have taken place in some oblasts and the fact that all this has not been investigated. For it is a matter for the local authorities, including in some places those invested with the very role of president, to create institutions so that regular meetings are held in the regions to resolve these issues, etc. For example, like the utterly acute topic of winter and the provision of essential everyday conditions. Is not this the task of the local organs of self-government? After all, it was for this reason that we handed all these duties down from the top of the administrative system. Let us after all implement our own decisions.

And the last thing, comrades. I am confident that there is scope for diversity of opinion. For this reason I consider that the address by my colleague, Sazonov, whose activity we all follow, so to speak, he—I am expressing my point of view—is growing, but he has not inspired the spirit of the nation; he has not inspired it with these declarations. He grew up in a working class environment, and to make complaints here so categorically against the party, to reproach it with everything, this is devoid of all foundation. Comrades, I would not like to address my comments to you as an attempt to sidestep criticism, but bear in mind that the party is not engaged in the emission of money. Can you understand this or not? It is the same with the other questions which have been cited here. If anyone absolutely wants to take this road and seek out an answer there, well go ahead. But I can tell you authoritatively that if we are engaged in this, then only from the point of view of criticism, for the party does not issue any directives on gold.

Gorbachev To Attend Supreme Soviet 11 Sep

LD1009131990 Moscow TASS in English 1315 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zeverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 10 TASS—The Soviet president has agreed with the government that one programme of transition to a market economy will be presented to the current session of the Soviet parliament. The programme will be "considered and offered to us by the president," parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov said today.

The report on this issue will be delivered by the head of the government, "this is what Mikhail Sergeyevich said," Lukyanov told parliament.

Lukyanov briefed delegates on his conversation with the president today.

According to him, the president will attend parliament on Tuesday [11 September].

Coverage of Economic Report to Supreme Soviet

Ryzhkov Delivers Economic Report

LD1109075490 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has delivered a report on the current economic situation and measures for the transition to a market economy. He outlined government steps to arrest the further deterioration of the situation, stabilize the economy, and start a gradual transition to a regulated market. He said the main thrust of the government's stabilization program is to preserve economic ties between enterprises and the republics, to achieve political stability, and strengthen law and order in the country.

'Radically Measured Option'

LD1109080390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0654 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Report from the Kremlin by parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—Its orientation toward the realities of life forces the government "persistently to advocate a radically measured option for transition to the market," stated Nikolay Ryzhkov, head of the USSR Government. He is now delivering a report entitled "On Urgent Measures to Stabilize the Country's National Economy and Switch to a Regulated Market Economy" at the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

According to him, this option is laid out in full in the draft government program which, in accordance with a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution, was formulated by 1 September. It develops and specifies approaches approved by the second congress of USSR People's Deputies. "I could report on it today as a completed document and reveal its content in detail as well as the logic and stages for moving toward the market and concrete measures outlined in certain areas", the prime minister continues. "However, I do not think I should do that". Nikolay Ryzhkov recalled that a concept program for switching to the market has been prepared in accordance with an instruction from the USSR president. "Under an accord reached at a session of the Presidential Council and the Federation Council, work is now being done to bring that material together with what has been proposed by the government," the speaker said. "On the basis of these two programs a single document must be created. It is proposed that in the very near future it will be submitted for examination by the Union republic and USSR Supreme Soviets."

'Disagreements' on Market Noted

LD1109092990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0850 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Report from Kremlin by TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow, 11 Sep (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet Government, defined the basic principles for transition to the market as recognizing the sovereignty of Union republics, an all-Union market, and real equality between various forms of property. He delivered a report entitled "On Urgent Measures to Stabilize the Country's National Economy and Switch to a Regulated Market Economy" at the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet today.

Describing the crisis in the country's national economy in the gloomiest tones—according to his assessment national income could maintain its negative trends and fall by 15 percent next year while capital investment could fall by 30 percent—Nikolay Ryzhkov acknowledged that "as yet there is no single program for transition to the market, it will be prepared in the days ahead". It is proposed that it will include elements from the government program and from the concept of the "group of 13" headed by Academician Shatalin.

Nikolay Ryzhkov described is concept of transition to the market as "radical-moderate." Underlying it is a "recognition of the sovereignty of the Union republics, their equality, and economic autonomy." The second principle is the creation of conditions for the formation of a Union market as the basis for the effective functioning of each republic and the development of integration. "Only such a market will be a solid basis for a renewed Union as a single state", the head of the Soviet government said. The third principle, in the opinion of the prime minister, lies in guaranteeing the same conditions for different forms of property.

Speaking of the unsurmounted disagreements between the two alternatives for the transition to the market, Nikolay Ryzhkov picked out first and foremost "different forecasts of the possibilities for cutting the budget deficit." The government intends to cut the budget deficit by 25 to 30 billion rubles or up to 2.5 to 3 percent of GNP in 1991. But to achieve a budget without deficit as early as March 1991, as the Shatalin group is proposing, is impossible "without large-scale limitations on the vital interests of the workers."

The second difference is in approach to the reform of price-setting. Of the two approaches—a regulated once-only price rise or the transition from 1 January to free price-setting—the government advocates the first, with compensation for losses incurred by the public in December this year.

In Nikolay Ryzhkov's opinion, free price-setting "would entail an immense rise in prices and the destabilization of economic life and would disorient enterprises". Under free price-setting, there would be numerous spontaneous increases which would fall on the shoulders of the low- and middle-income groups of the population. Living standards would fall by 30 percent and inflation would soar.

Responding to the criticism made of him frequently of late, Nikolay Ryzhkov asked for things to be made clear: "You either replace the government or you allow it to function and support it in every way possible."

Shatalin Addresses Deputies

LD1109100990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Report by correspondent Andrey Nikiforov from the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin]

[Text] The report "On Urgent Measures To Stabilise the Country's National Economy and Switch to a Regulated Market Economy" was delivered to deputies today by the head of the all-Union government, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. This program was prepared on the instructions of the country's Supreme Soviet.

As you know, there is another variation of this program drawn up by the working party of Academician Shatalin. As you know, this program is being considered by the Russian parliament, so Comrade Ryzhkov spoke mainly about the committees and commissions and also in the supreme soviets of the Union and autonomous republics once it is presented by the president. It has been decided to entrust coordination of this work to the Economic Reform Committee and the Commission on Labor, Prices, and Social Policy.

One other item emerged following discussions to deem that the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium has prepared itself somewhat poorly on this matter. The debates continue.

Gorbachev Speaks on Market

LD1109082190 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] President Mikhail Gorbachev has said the country is on the threshold of very important decisions. The planned transition to a regulated market economy will introduce fundamental changes in its political and economic system. He spoke after Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov delivered a report on the current economic situation and the government's measures aimed at achieving stabilization. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the necessity to draw up a single program of the transition to a regulated market. He said this program should incorporate the best futures of the government program and the program drawn up by a group led by academician Stanislav Shatalin. The single program will meet the interests of all the republics and will make it possible to overcome differences and consolidate the society, noted Gorbachev. This program will be presented to the Soviet parliament tomorrow.

Gorbachev Prefers Shatalin Plan

LD1109101490 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 11 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov, Boris Zverev, Ivan Ivanov, and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—The future shape of Soviet society will depend on parliament's choice of measures to turn the economy around and put it on a market footing, President Gorbachev said today.

Addressing the Supreme Soviet after Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov, who presented basic principles for the transition to a market, he recalled an earlier decision to table a single reform blueprint combining the best from the government's plan and a programme prepared by an expert group under Academician Stanislav Shatalin.

"We should try and work out a single document, and we are nearing it," Gorbachev said. He added that the Shatalin programme appeals more to him personally as "integrating the ideas of constituent republics".

The principle differences between the two plans, according to Gorbachev, concern ways to stabilise the nation's finances.

"If there is a real plan to stabilise finances, money circulation, the rouble and the market, then we should adopt the Shatalin idea," he said.

Explaining the government's position, which drew deputies' fire, the president said that the cabinet "is not sure about the possibility of implementing stabilisation measures."

He warned parliament against "shaking up all political institutions in the country. This is unacceptable. In this case, we shall bury everything we have achieved over these five years," Gorbachev said.

He said that a combined programme taking into account both plans will be repesented on Wednesday [12 September].

Parliamentarians To Tackle Market Program

PM1009125190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Sep 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Feature by parliamentary observer M. Buzhkevich: "Time of Vigorous Actions; Fourth USSR Supreme

Soviet Session Begins Work Today"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] This time the parliamentarians are faced with a long "marathon"—the winter vacation will begin for them only at the end of December. On the session's agenda are dozens of questions and the drafts of very important laws. But perhaps the most important event will be the discussion and approval of the program for the transition to a market economy.

In preparing for the next session the parliament and chamber committees and commissions have performed a considerable amount of work. They have studied the state of the economy and the situation in the social sphere and worked on the concepts of future laws and resolutions. Our parliamentary observer M. Buzhkevich asked the chairmen of a number of parliamentary committees and commissions to describe the results of this activity and what they expect from the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

V. Vologzhin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Economic Reform:

Obviously, the crux of the debates at the fourth session of the Union parliament will be the discussion of the program for transition to a market economy and also a number of economic laws which support and reinforce it. The implementation of this program is a key element of all our perestroyka. If we succeed in this matter there will be a stabilization of the situation in the national economy and then a boost in production in all its sectors.

Our committee, of course, took an active part in elaborating the measures essential for the transition to market relations. Back during the previous session we engaged in earnest in the problem of creating joint-stock companies and partnerships which our economy cannot do without under the new conditions of development.

In recent months the committee has paid close attention to the problem of small business. Foreign specialists who have great experience of market relaions believe, not without justification, that so-called small business is the backbone of the economy. In the developed Western countries it provides 50 to 60 percent of the national product. A 90 percent increase in jobs is ensured through enterprises with a numerical strength of less than 500 employees.

We should probably proceed along the same path, doing everything to support small business. Yet another government resolution or declaratory law will not help here. It is important to create objective economic and financial conditions for the rapid development of small business. The legal side has already been enshrined in the law on ownership. It will be strengthened after the adoption of a law on entrepreneurship. Labor collectives, families, and individual citizens now have the right to open a "business": small shops, workshops, stores, cafes, and so forth. The whole point is that they should have opportunities to do this, primarily credit.

That is why we set ourselves the aim of creating a fund for the support and development of small enterprises. The 20-day tour of the United States by a group of members of our committee helped. At various levels we were familiarized with the "working" of economic laws under market relations. We were interested in collaboration between small business and large firms. We also studied the procedure for financing and capital investment in small enterprises.

As a result a nongovernmental U.S.-Soviet fund for investments in small business in the Soviet Union has appeared. We have advanced quite far in this matter. We calculate that by the end of the year the fund will reach $500 million.

In our opinion the negative consequences of the period of transition to the market are not that terrible, especially as they can be alleviated. Take the question of prices. The majority of people forget that the market is held up not by increasing prices but by reducing them. The entrepreneurs who remain "afloat" are those who offer the customer articles of better quality at lower prices than their competitors. This rule operates on one condition: there being an abundance of goods. Initially there will obviously be a reduction in overall production volumes—an inevitable concomitant of the breakdown of existing relations in the economy and of any perestroyka in society. But later, as labor productivity increases and the entrepreneurship of labor collectives and the other owners of small enterprises is enhanced, the process of the overall boosting of the economy will begin. And then prices will fall.

Of course, in studying foreign experience the committee attentively analyzed the proposals and programs of Soviet economists. That was the case with the recommendations put forward by Academician Aganbegyan's group for the transition to a market economy on the basis of an assessment of the alternative option. Then we studied the government program and the Russian "500 days" program. We also have a program for an American firm on questions of privatization. Finally we ourselves prepared a compilation entitled "Free Market Economy" based on U.S. sources.

All this has been within the purview of the members of our committees. We did not simply read programs and compilations. No, we laid them out next to each other and compared them, and not only sought differences between them but also highlighted similarities of position. It is by this means that the deputies come closer to comprehending the truth, to an in-depth understanding of the responsibility which rests on them in connection with the approval of the final draft of the program for the transition to a market economy. I hope the members of our committee will make a marked contribution to the elaboration of an optimum program for the recovery of the economy and the entire life of society. It is this which should be the result of the work of the present session of Soviet parliament.

G. Kiselev, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Consumer Goods; Trade; Municipal, Consumer, and Other Services to the Population:

We compiled the plan for preparing for the present session before the end of the previous session. Therefore many deputies and members of our commission worked even during the parliamentary vacation. In particular they studied problems of providing the rural population with goods and services. They visited various parts of the country—Khabarovsk and Altay Krays, Magadan, Tyumen, Issyk-Kul, and other oblasts. And everywhere except perhaps for Altay and Kirghizia they revealed a common natural law: Goods are divided unevenly between cities and villages to the benefit of the former. The local soviets of people's deputies have to rectify this injustice and create more favorable conditions for rural workers and that means for the fulfillment of the Food Program. We have planned to discuss this problem in October. And then we will make the relevant proposals to the Supreme Soviet.

The production of consumer goods is the constant focus of the commission's attention. Everyone can see how the store shelves are empty. Ever new necessities are becoming scarce. Much rests on the work of light industry whose enterprises provide the market with approximately one-third of nonfood goods. The situation in the sector today is critical. A very acute shortage of raw material can be felt, plans for imports of raw material are not being fulfilled, and internal shipments—especially interrepublican ones—are being disrupted. For these reasons many collectives are already standing idle. Unless the governments of the country and of the republics take emergency measures immediately, hundreds of light industry enterprises may come to a standstill. And that is fraught with the danger of intensifying the already high level of social tension—many tens of thousands of workers, mainly women, run the risk of remaining without work.

Our commission raised keenly before the Union government, the Supreme Soviet leadership, and the country's president the question of the need to take urgent steps to prevent this development of events.

Alongside participation in preparing various laws we monitor their implementation, and primarily the work of ministries and departments on the production of consumer goods and services. Together with the USSR People's Control Committee as well as independently, the commission has analyzed how the ministries of the petrochemical, defense, and metallurgical industries are resolving these problems. Next is the Ministry of the Electronics Industry.

The experience of constructive work which, even in our complex time, has produced positive results and is opening up hopeful prospects, is acquiring special value. One example: The commission has studied and supported the interesting proposals of the truck builders from the Lenin Komsomol Truck Plant. They have decided in the 13th Five Year Plan to increase their production volume from 1.5 billion rubles [R] to R4 billion. It is planned to produce twice as many trucks. And all this without the allocation of centralized capital investments. At the session opening today our attention will be directed primarily toward the program for the economy's transfer to a market footing. As is well known, there will be a reduction as a whole in industrial production and a reduction in centralized capital investments. But to ensure that the transition to the market proceeds with the least losses to the population and to prevent our social boat from being overturned we cannot allow a reduction in these investments in the production of consumer goods or a decline in their output. We must embark more boldly on the path of the transfer of small consumer services, trade, public catering, and other enterprises to collective and family ownership, to the lease, and to private hands. Here I think the transition to the destatization of these enterprises should be quite mass-based to ensure that real competition emerges among them, because that is a guarantee of an increase in the mass of goods and in the volume of services on the market as well as the way to reduce prices for them.

We shall work actively with draft laws on entrepreneurial activity and on joint ventures. The people's deputies of our commission are displaying special interest in the elaboration of a law on the protection of consumers' rights. After all today customers are still the hostages of trade and the producers of goods. We are sold substandard television sets, tape recorders, automobiles, clothing, and footwear and we are powerless to protect ourselves. It is time to put an end to this tyranny and to reliably protect consumers' rights.

Yu. Borodin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Protection of the People's Health:

Last week the committee again discussed the draft state program for the prevention of disease and the formation of a healthy way of life among the country's population. It is geared to the end of the final decade of our century. Some people are obviously surprised that tumultuous events are taking place in the country and there is to be a transition to economic relations which are new to all of us and to the market, and they say that here there is only theoretical talk about health care. Is that timely? Such doubts can arise only among those who forget that the people's health is the source of the success of all perestroyka and of any reform, because they are the work of people who need spiritual and physical strength to transform society.

The program in question is by no means a medical but a social one. After all it views the factors which influence the health of the individual person, enterprise or organization collective, or population of an entire territory or big region. Here you must consider people's existing way of life, their habits—including harmful habits—and how the population engages in physical culture and sport.

Of course it would be pointless to sit in Moscow while shaping a common program and giving recommendations to all republics, oblasts, and rayons. We see our task in elaborating concepts and the main avenues of the struggle for the consolidation of people's health and for a healthy and I would say civilized way of life for the population. In our opinion the motivation—the desire for health—should emerge in everyone. A person needs to understand that being healthy and in excellent physical shape is to the advantage of himself and his family.

The committee has sent the drafts of this program to the republics' councils of ministers and health ministries and invited the leaders of the committees and commissions for the protection of health of a number of republican parliaments to a recent discussion. And we are very grateful to them for a businesslike, professional approach toward this document and for the remarks and advice they gave. After the completion of the elaboration of a program concept we will submit it for examination to the country's president.

A special mention of health care, which is in a particularly lamentable situation. Its material-technical base is weak and obsolete and the country lacks medical preparations, even the simplest medicines. Urgent measures are needed to stabilize the health care situation. The committee is now preparing proposals on this question in conjunction with the central and republican organs. We also want to send them for examination to the presidential council.

The forthcoming session will approve a number of economic draft laws. Our committee will try to ensure that each considers the factors which preserve and improve man's health. For instance, take the elaboration of the new Union treaty. In our view it should consider, as has already been the case with economic tasks, the problems of the people's health.

It is clear to everyone that under the conditions of a unified economic space interrepublican ties and other business contacts will be noticeably enhanced. Here too the problem of sanitary inspection acquires special importance. Incidentally, its precise organization was not so long ago a subject of pride for Soviet health care. But in recent years alarming signals have appeared that this service is unbalanced. For many years there was no plague, cholera, anthrax, or glanders in the country. But now cases of these diseases have been discovered. Considering this, our committee will seek to ensure that the session examines a draft on the basic principles of sanitary legislation in the USSR. Probably they should reflect the legal foundations of the country's sanitary and epidemiological service. There are various proposals on how to raise its prestige. Some suggest that the USSR's chief sanitation specialist be made first deputy minister of health and given special rights in whose implementation no one has the right to interfere. Others believe that the question of appointing the country's chief sanitation specialist should be within the competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet by analogy with the state arbitrator. In any case a law on sanitary oversight is extremely necessary for us.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Encourages 'Triumph of the Law'

PM1109101190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

["Message From the USSR President"]

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has addressed the presidents and chairmen of the supreme soviets of the Union and autonomous republics; the chairmen of oblast, kray, and okrug soviets of people's deputies; and the chairmen of executive committees of the soviet of people's deputies in a telegram on the strengthening of legality, law, and order. The telegram states that perestroyka has entered a decisive phase of qualitative changes in society. It has got to the heart of things and encompasses all spheres of life—economic, political, and social. It touches on the fundamental interests of all social groups in the population and includes radical changes with regard to ownership, the institutions of power, and the structure of management. The process is progressing with difficulty in a contradictory fashion, is threatened by real dangers, and is encountering opposition from certain forces. In essence, all of this is inevitable when the matter in hand is very profound, revolutionary transformations. It is very important here, consistently and without shying away from things, to implement the political policies while not allowing the costs of the transition stage to acquire an acute and destabilizing nature.

The nature of the socioeconomic turnaround and the difficulties connected with this require authorities at all levels to act decisively, making full use of their powers and the force of the law. But it is precisely here that weaknesses have appeared in us, as well as serious omissions and errors in the activities of the central, republican, and all local bodies, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stresses. All of this raises the temperature in the country; causes alarm and anxiety among people; creates a situation of unmanagability; and engenders an inability to reach agreement in activities, a lack of responsibility, and an inadmissibly light-hearted attitude toward the law and state discipline. If these processes are not halted now, this might complicate all of our work to an even greater degree and in so doing block the processes of perestroyka and give grounds for more active actions of antiperestroyka forces. Such a situation can no longer be tolerated, the president declares, and he draws attention to three issues.

First, legal nihilism in society—which is fraught with a breakdown of the whole system of legislative, executive, and judicial power—needs to be decisively overcome. In creating a law-based state we must restructure, and I am sure that we will restructure a lot in the lawmaking process and in the content of the laws themselves. However, the unconditional execution of constitutional norms and the observation of existing legislation are necessary.

Second, lawlessness within the economic sphere is especially destructive. It undermines the very foundations of the country's life and the welfare of each individual.

The destruction of established economic links, unreliability in the fulfilment of contractual obligations, the collapse of discipline in supply, economic sloppiness, and waste have become a real scourge.

We must look at things realistically. The scale of such illegality is great and continues to grow. In many case law violations remain unpunished—this applies to managers, workforces, and central administrative organs alike. This situation adds to the difficulties of rectifying the economic situation at the stage of transition to the market, the president notes.

He draws the attention of workers at all levels who are responsible for the economic sphere to their total responsibility for fulfilling their obligations. In the conditions that have arisen we can no longer tolerate one or another group of workers standing idle, sheltering behind references to difficulties in perestroyka.

Third, crime is a serious threat to society. The criminal world infringes upon the security and rights of citizens, material resources, cultural treasures, and even the inviolable reserves of the country. The growth in crime is having an extremely negative influence on the moral and political climate of society and undermines confidence in the ability of the state to guarantee people's legal rights and security.

The explosive situation in several areas of the country is being created by organized crime.

The president considers the situation which has arisen as very worrying and one demanding coordinated and decisive actions. First and foremost, the stands of those bodies of power that tolerate law violations and, under pressure from antisocial forces, frequently hinder the law and order bodies from carrying out their duties should be fundamentally reviewed.

At the same time, many law and order bodies poorly carry out their direct duties, surrendering to the onslaught of crime.

The attitude that has taken root in society on this issue must also change, when legitimate indignation about the growth in crime is expressed, on the one hand, while on the other there is an evident disinclination within society to fight against crime and even, in a number of cases, indulgence and over-readiness to forgive.

The dangerous situation that has arisen with regard to crime cannot be changed without fundamentally altering the attitude of workforces at enterprises; of the people in towns, settlements, and villages; and of all society to this question which is of vital importance to everyone.

The president reasserts that we shall not achieve our set aims unless we insure the triumph of the law. The national state and legal reconstruction of the USSR, the transition to market relations, and the moral renewal of society—all this will remain wishful thinking if the bodies of power at all levels and society do not adopt the difficult and urgent task of affirming legality, law, order, and discipline.

The president proposed to the addressees that they should report on the measures they have adopted and on their results on 15 October this year and on 1 January 1991.

Ryzhkov Criticized Over Purchase of Dacha

PM1009214090 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by I. Sichka under the rubric "Food for Thought": "Nikolay Ivanovich Has Bought a Dacha...."]

[Text] It is a purely personal matter. A family matter, you could say. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has bought himself a dacha nearby in Moscow Oblast. In different circumstances you might merely congratulate him on his successful acquisition and ask yourself: What is it to me?

However in our country it has historically been the case that the personal affairs of the leadership frequently set the tone also for matters of state. If Nikolay Ivanovich has broken with this historical tradition, we will congratulate him twice.

But first a few details.

Right, Nikolay Ivanovich's purchase was not cheap. According to my information it cost 47,000 rubles [R]. Subsequently he submitted an application to the Barvikhinskiy Rural Soviet requesting allocation of a plot of land "on the basis of actual use."

The rural soviet approved the application and passed the request up the line to the Odintsovo City Soviet for final endorsement. But there was a hitch. At the city soviet they decided to make sure and investigate: How much land was in "actual use"? And they persisted until they found out—one and a half hectares.

A tricky situation resulted. On the one hand: Normally between six and eight hundredths of a hectare are allocated with dachas. Specially deserving people; well known scientists, writers, or public figures, it is true, are sometimes allowed up to 20 to 25 hundredths of a hectare by special permission. But in this case it was a whole one and a half hectares of forest. On the other hand the applicant was not just anybody, it was the prime minister.

The point is that Nikolay Ivanoch decided to buy his own dacha. His own not in the sense of private, but a state dacha to which he is entitled by dint of his post.

This may give rise to many questions, of course. And one reproach: "Why are you picking on Nikolay Ivanovich? Is he not an individual, why shouldn't he have his dacha?" My answer is: Yes, but first and foremost he is the prime minister. After all, we do not ask him to travel by subway, to let himself be jostled while waiting in line, or to experience other "delights" of our daily life. However he too should not stop us from questioning, even if only for a moment, the purity of his motives. Why am I saying this?

We all know that Nikolay Ivanovich was for a long time opposed to private property, was against the privatization of the economy in our country, or to put it in simpler terms against the sale of the state's real estate—houses, enterprises, land, and so forth—to the population. At the same time and under the latest economic program of the government, as far as I know, destatization of this property is already permitted on a limited scale.

The government's fears are understandable and have repeatedly been voiced from various platforms. Fears that during the sell-off dealers in the shadow economy, mafiosi, and other antisocial elements who have accumulated fortunes by unlawful means will be the first to get their hands on everything. This is reasonable enough. After all, the people have no money. It is only against the background of totally empty shelves that the savings resulting from our labor seem excessive to some financiers. Therefore the government is proposing not to rush the sell-off and, where it does begin nevertheless, to offer considerable discounts in a number of cases.

By chance or otherwise, the sell-off has begun with Council of Ministers property. Without waiting for the official go-ahead, they have quietly begun to sell state dachas, naturally to those who previously occupied them in the line of "duty." If it were not necessary to obtain a deed on land use from the local soviet, then I fear that we would have learned everything only after the deed had been done. As usual....

Clearly, it was sheer accident that Nikolay Ivanovich was first in line. But I know that generals, admirals, ministers and their deputies, secretaries, chiefs and deputy chiefs, and generally everyone who was formerly entitled to have [a dacha] but now either may still be entitled or is no longer entitled are already lining up behind him.

There is no question that many state dachas, and we have many of them in our country, should be sold or resold to people. To whom and on what terms—that is a separate topic. At any rate in present conditions the state can scarcely afford to keep them as a free perk of many nomenklatura posts. And the moral aspect of this matter is not beyond reproach.

But there is a little problem here. It is impossible for someone on an official salary, even a very high one, to purchase such a country house. He cannot afford to. The paper value of most of these houses runs not just into thousands or even tens of thousands of rubles. And I am not speaking of the market price. For instance, last year four dachas costing over R500,000 each were constructed for Defense Ministry leaders.

So what should be done? Should they be auctioned off? I'm afraid that it will not be our worthiest fellow citizens who buy them. Should "considerable discounts" be offered "in a number of cases"? For some reason it is always the same old people who enjoy those in our country. In general, while the legislators have still to decide what is to be done with state property on a countrywide scale, the apparatus of the executive branch has apparently already straightened out this matter for itself—on the scale of the capital.

Maybe someone would straighten out just a few matters for us too? How is the value of state dachas assessed? On the basis of what decisions has the sell-off begun, and who adopted those decisions? For the sake of objectivity, I would like to know in particular how much is the prime minister's dacha really worth? And will all subsequent purchasers receive parcels of land "on the basis of actual use"?

But that's enough about dachas. So far as I can tell, they are not the only things that will be sold off soon. But if this process proceeds on the same principle—that whoever is closer to the official property will be the first to gain possession of it—I fear that you and I, the ordinary taxpayers, will once again be left with nothing. But perhaps there will be fewer people defending the "fundamental values of socialism" from lofty rostrums.

As for Nikolay Ivanovich, I do not doubt his personal probity. And I believe he must have a dacha worthy of a prime minister. And when he retires the state should provide him with worthy living conditions. And the fact that in this specific case Nikolay Ivanovich has not acted behind the back of the local soviet is also noteworthy. But.... When you hold such a post you simply cannot engage in wheeling and dealing, especially when it involves state property, in order to avoid rumors. Anyhow, you should not set that kind of example to your subordinates.

KGB Colonel Describes Antiterrorist Unit

90UF0493A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 90 p 1

[Report by KGB Colonel Viktor Karpukhin recorded by V. Filin: "I, Viktor Karpukhin, a Colonel in the USSR KGB"]

[Text] [Filin] **The name and position of this person are appearing in the press for the first time. He commands a special KGB antiterrorist group. He was born in 1947 into a serviceman's family. He graduated from a tank school**

and afterwards from a pedagogical institute. At 35 years of age, he was in training again, this time in the Higher School of the USSR KGB, and has been in the organs for 20 years. Hero of the Soviet Union. Married. Two children.

[Karpukhin] The subunit of the USSR KGB in which I serve is for special cases. There are those like us throughout the world. There are not many of us, probably as many as are needed for the time being. There is no need for superfluous publicity, but first-rate professionals are at work. Recruitment is on a voluntary basis. The officers and warrant officers are basically from organs of the KGB and border troops. Of course, important examinations have to be passed. Everyone is trained physically at the level of a candidate or master in several types of sports, we shoot very well, plus, of course, we are skilled in hand-to-hand combat, and we are psychologically stable. Well, there are also many kinds of special acquired habits. We operate only in extreme situations, and therefore we are equipped accordingly. There are both conventional and special weapons. Weapons with silencers, for example, and small caliber weapons. Bulletproof vests of titanium and kevlar, bulletproof hoods—helmets with a bulletproof visor with headset, explosives, and various so-called "special purpose means." The subunit duty element is on permanent five-minute readiness status. The others are resting or in training. The pay is typical, like that of all officers. Temporary duty is 3.50. A year's service counts for a year and a half.

It was we who liberated the isolator [solitary confinement block] and the hostages that were seized by criminals in Sukhumi. We were assisted by the "spetsnaz" [special purpose element] of the Internal Troops. They arrived there at the height of the tension. The criminals got all of the arms that had previously been taken from the population and stored in one of the rooms of the isolator—17 carbines, 105 pistols and revolvers, and also 400 barrels of small caliber weapons. They were led by fellows with a "rich" past. Prunchak, for example, was tried three times, including for murder.

The building with the isolator is in the center of the city. Nearby are Lenin Square and busy city streets, and there are dwelling units all around. Despite the cordoning off, there was always a large inquisitive crowd near the isolator, and also acquaintances and relatives both of the hostages and of the prisoners. The scenario of an attempt on the part of the criminals for an armed breakthrough was entirely possible. While negotiations were going on and the criminals were demanding a helicopter and transportation, we studied the layout of the isolator, examined the outside of the building, the courtyard, and adjacent structures. We sketched out a plan of action. We found a secluded spot, and we coached ourselves. In our opinion, the best prepared, mainly officers, were selected from among the "spotted berets." Then I rang up the chairman of the USSR KGB and reported on the concept of the operation.

According to the preliminary plan, everything was to occur as follows. The criminals see the helicopter land on the square. At first, they demanded that it land on the roof of the isolator, but we were able to convince them that the roof would not hold up, and that it would be better to land on the square nearby. Then they demanded to be shown the crew, and afterwards that an empty "rafik" [small bus] be left for them to be able to drive away in it from the courtyard. This is the way it all happened. I divided the people into three groups: The first, headed by Major Mikhail Kartofelnikov, was supposed to "take" the "rafik." This was the most dangerous, and the group had only KGB employees. The second group, headed by Major Mikhail Maksimov, after simultaneously blasting all trap doors and outside doors, was supposed to break through to the inside of the building from the fourth floor and block the second and third floors. The third group, there we were being helped by the "spotted berets," blocked the first floor. The fourth floor, by the way, was not occupied by the criminals.

How we got to the right place and at the right time is another story. In any case, the criminals, after looking over the courtyard and the building, did not notice anything. The operation started at 1400.

I see how the helicopter touches down. They bring out the crew, show them, and they walk away. The group of criminals, all of whom were in masks made of stockings and rags, run to the small bus. Among them are hostages. Who, we did not know. It was therefore impossible to shoot. A convict in a gas mask sat behind the wheel. They began to move. I gave the command to start. There was a big noise and a stunning flash. The "rafik" stops. My boys are next to it in a second. Regaining their senses, the "passengers" begin to shoot at them in a frenzy with both hands. But we operated quickly, as we were supposed to do. We smashed the windows and broke open the doors and disarmed everyone. This took 45 seconds.

Simultaneously with the assault on the "RAF" [Riga Bus Factory vehicle], charges on the doors and trap doors from the fourth floor to the third floor were set off. It is about four meters or more to the ceiling there; therefore, we prepared special halyards for descending. The first to go down was Maksimov, and after him, Sasha Yurin and Slava Prokofyev. There were seven cells on each floor. Each had a criminal with a weapon. Our men worked, as always, without firing, but swiftly. Somewhere around a minute was spent on blocking the floors. All of the zeks [prisoners] were quickly placed on the floor and "calmed down." All in all it took about three minutes. Afterwards came the "second echelon"—the militia and Internal Troops. They searched, checked, and took away weapons.

I went outside and gave the command over my walkie-talkie to check on my people. Everyone was alive. Only Captain Igor Orekhov was injured. He "was taking" the "rafik," pulling out the driver, and a passenger, as it turns out it was Prunchak, fired two or three times from his small caliber pistol. A bullet hit between the sphere and the bulletproof vest and, not hitting any vital organs, lodged itself next to the backbone. Our boys "calmed" Prunchak right there. In the heat of the moment, Igor did not notice, and he rushed again into the isolator. He was taken to the hospital from there. In the morning we wished him a happy birthday, he hit 35. You can say he was born a second time. Also injured were soldier Lebedev, who was next to a trap door on the fourth floor, and two hostages. This is tolerable, it could have been worse.

We returned to Moscow on Thursday. On Friday we were received by the chairman of the USSR KGB, and KGB colleagues gave us valuable gifts, "Yunost" television sets.

But on Sunday, at home, there was another telephone call. Off to Tashkent. An aircraft is in the air that was seized by criminals in Neryungri. True, there we operated in a different way. The situation was different. The criminals, as is well known, were well-armed, and three of them kept the hostages at gunpoint. They were behaving in a very nervous way. I went to them for talks. Near the aircraft I am met by two men with automatic weapons, and they are holding a captive under escort at gunpoint.

"Who are you?" "I am from the KGB." I counter with the question: And who are you, what is your name? He became agitated. "Andrey." Then he becomes nervous again. "Swine, they gave us five radios, but they do not work." "Let me replace them." They were replaced. An Aeroflot vehicle drove past, and he goes for his automatic weapon: "I will kill the escort!" A critical moment. I say, let us go and see, you are alone, and there is no one around. He agreed, and we walk through the field. We do not spot anyone, although our boys were everywhere. Then one passenger came out of the aircraft, frightened and extremely worn out. He explained that they are continuously under the gun, and they are almost at the point of being shot. We ask that they do nothing. Incidentally, there were two young stewardesses with the passengers continuously. They were allowed to go out with the crew for a breather, but they refused and remained in the aircraft.

We thought about it a bit. The main thing was to save the lives of the hostages. If we carried out an operation, our chances were slight. And the aircraft left soon for Pakistan. And we came back from Tashkent with a dozen melons. We brought them to Orekhov in the hospital.

Behind us we have more than 40 such operations. In all of that time, two of our comrades were killed and 37 were wounded. But not one of us will leave the job as long as it is needed by the people. Let all of the "hotheads" know this.

[Filin] I shook hands with the outwardly shy six-foot-tall "fellow" with the huge fists. I watched as Karpukhin fumbled in the pockets of his jacket for the Hero's Gold Star. In the end, he found it. It is for television. Ahead of him was the first television shooting in his life. The conversation evoked complex feelings in general. On the one hand, it is good that, in a situation where all state institutions are in chaos and are impotent, there is a solid and splendidly organized and equipped structure which is capable of defending. But, on the other hand, the heroism of some is too frequently programmed beforehand by the bungling of others. Hijackings of aircraft, escapes of criminals, seizure of hostages... And everywhere there is someone who should have foreseen everything, but who did not. Who is next?

Investigation of KGB Activities Demanded

PM1109084090 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 90 p 1

[Report under rubric "Question of Day": "Will an Investigation Into KGB Activities Be Set Up?"]

[Excerpt] Yesterday 117 USSR people's deputies signed a demand for a parliamentary investigation into the KGB's activities. The previous day a similar decision was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee.

Why was the investigation initiated by the Youth Affairs Committee rather than the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions?

V. Minin, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee:

"...That committee constitutes a strong lobby of military specialists, and they have no intention of cutting off the branch they are sitting on.... Take for example the committee's reaction to all this information (meaning press articles on the KGB—editorial note). I quote from a newspaper: '...The results of realizing the earlier adopted decisions by way of monitoring the USSR KGB's activities were summed up. Their positive significance was noted....' I know what 'positive significance' the measures taken have. I myself have seen reports by KGB workers on speeches by people's deputies. This was quite enough for me to realize that this organization is still working the way it used to."

S. Tsyplyayev, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions:

"The facts set forth in the statement by a number of KGB staffers really do need to be examined in parliament.

"It would be possible to set up a special commission and to entrust this to a subcommittee of our committee....

"...The problem that this question comes up against is connected with the mistrust of this subcommittee and the committee as a whole on the part of a number of deputies. And this, I must say, is of course not without grounds."

(From statements on 6 September this year at a session of the Youth Affairs Committee).

Exactly 24 hours after that statement Sergey Tsyplyayev was released from the post of secretary of the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions. [passage omitted]

Murder of Moscow Priest Under Investigation

LD1009164290 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] A popular priest of the Russian Orthodox Church, Father Aleksandr Mene, has been killed near Moscow. His body was found close to his house on Sunday. The doctors say be bled to death after being hit hard on the head.

In the years when Brezhnev was in power, Aleksandr Mene was persecuted by the authorities for exposing the vices of present-day society. He has appeared with theological discussions and words of faith on Soviet Television and Radio Moscow.

The Moscow patriarchate had rather cool relations with him. His status of a village clergymen didn't at all correspond to his popularity. The crime is being investigated.

'Shades of Rambo' Wander Moscow Streets

LD1009031190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] The capital's Pushkin Square presents an entertaining picture today. If you drive or walk along Tverskaya toward the Kremlin, there's a brightly coloured Coca-Cola advertisement on your path. To its right, under the constant gaze of a glum Aleksandr Sergeyevich [Pushkin statue] winds the thousand-strong queue for MacDonalds, while to the left the latest American box office super-hit "Rambo: First Blood" calls from the pediment of the Rossiya Cinema.

I am in favor of flooding our cinema market with good and varied films, writes journalist Pavlyuchik in an article entitled "Rambo In Our City," but when a film of impoverished artistic value is chosen as the first sign of independent hire and is given the best auditoriums in Moscow—the same auditoriums in which all-Union film premieres formerly took place with much ceremony—and when a stream of home-produced films permeated with cruelty, violence and sex is infused with "First Blood," there is nothing to do but throw up one's hands. The journalist comments that our society is sick today, and what is more gravely so. We already look upon heart wrenching chronicles of crime impassively as something to which we are accustomed. Shades of Rambo wander the streets of Moscow. Of course the screen is not the reason for this, but if we cannot expect goodness, mercy, and a light at the end of the tunnel from the arts nowadays, then I honestly do not know where to expect them from, exclaims the journalist.

GUDOK Collective Proclaims 'Independence'

PM1109092790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 90 p 1

[Statement by GUDOK collective: "GUDOK On Its Own"]

[Text] The collective of the oldest workers' newspaper GUDOK has declared its independence.

A meeting was held in the editorial office on the evening of 7 September at which the statutes were adopted and the chief editor was unanimously elected. However, the situation is complicated by the fact that GUDOK's editor had already been selected behind the journalists' backs—by the Ministry of Railways and the trade union's Central Committee.

While unconditionally rejecting the edict style of managing the journalists' collective, at the same time the editorial board advocates cooperation with the Ministry of Railways and the trade union Central Committee.

We are ready to enter into negotiations on coestablishment with the sectoral trade union; with railroad administrations; with transport, transport construction, and transport machine-building enterprises; and with other interested organizations.

Economic

Minister Ryzhkov on Economic Reform Program

AU1109073890 Paris AFP in English 0731 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 11 (AFP)—Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov told parliament here Tuesday that the Soviet leadership has failed to agree on a crucial economic reform programme.

Mr. Ryzhkov, who had been expected to present the Kremlin's plan for reshaping the economy, said that many disagreements remained and parliament might have to choose between several options.

Leadership Split Over Reforms

AU1109103290 Paris AFP in English 0859 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, Sept 11 (AFP)—Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov failed to present a crucial economic rescue programme here Tuesday and said parliament may have to choose between rival proposals.

Mr. Ryzhkov, who had been expected to present the Kremlin's plan for reshaping the economy, said that deep divisions remained. Looking nervous and ill at ease, he told a Supreme Soviet session attended by President Mikhail Gorbachev that the programme should be completed within a few days, but there were still many disagreements. If the leadership failed to reach a consensus, then "parliament will have to find a solution" he said. His political fate has become inextricably linked to the economic rescue plan. He had been expected to present an economic blueprint based on programmes worked out by two teams of economists.

One was based on much-criticized conservative reforms he proposed in June, which were rejected by parliament. It calls for continued central planning and strong central government control moving slowly towards to a partial market economy. The other was a radical plan drawn up by Mr. Gorbachev's economic advisor Stanislav Shatalin, which notably calls for republics to be allowed control of their own natural resources.

The latter is supported by Boris Yeltsin, leader of the huge Russian federation and a fierce critic of Mr. Ryzhkov.

Mr. Gorbachev says the final version should be a combination of the two plans. It was announced last week that he would present the programme to parliament on Tuesday, but this idea was dropped Monday because no final agreement had been reached.

One of the widest differences between the two projects is on price rises. Mr. Ryzhkov says state-controlled prices must immediately be raised to more realistic levels before any reforms can be introduced. The Shatalin plan believes that state monopolies should be dismantled and the economy privatised before raising prices to avoid social tension.

When Mr. Rzyhkov first presented his, he proposed beginning the reforms by doubling and tripling prices, which set off panic buying. Mr. Ryzhkov said that a compromise over price rises was "impossible". In his speech, the prime minister also disclosed that the Soviet Union anticipated importing 12.5 billion rubles (20 billion dollars at the official rate) of pharmaceutical products and food in 1991. He said the most serious budget problem facing the country next year would be a spectacular rise in the deficit, which is expected to more than double from 60 billion rubles in 1990 to 130 billion.

Mr. Ryzhkov also emphasized that a transition to a controlled market economy would be dependent on the new treaty of the Union, which is currently being drawn up. He said priorities included "defining the economic sovereignty of republics, with the division of economic powers between the republics and the Union, coordinating the activities of republics with the Union pertaining to credits, finance and customs."

The reformist mayor of Leningrad, Anatoly Sobchak, launched a bitter attack on Mr. Ryzhkov after his speech, demanding that the texts of the draft proposals be made public.

Arctic Merchant Fleet Strike Wins Pay Deal

PM1009144990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by unnamed TASS correspondent plus editorial office note: "Strike Over"]

[Text] Murmansk—Nuclear-powered ships delivering cargo to the inhabitants of Chukotka and the Siberian coast came to a halt on the northern sea route on 6 September. Sailors on the nuclear-powered ships had declared a strike. The crews of icebreakers and a number of cargo vessels belonging to the Murmansk Steamship Company joined them out of solidarity.

The government's refusal to meet the just demands of the sailors working in the Arctic and adjust their system of remuneration was the cause of the labor dispute. The sailors' real wages, despite a pay increase, are several times below that of their colleagues sailing foreign routes. This difference is due to the fact that the wages of the crews of cargo vessels are partly paid in hard currency.

The problems of the sailors working aboard nuclear-powered ships are well known to the USSR Council of Ministers. They have been discussed many times at the highest level. The sailors gave guarantees and set deadlines, but the matter simply made no further progress.

From the editorial office: According to information received by an IZVESTIYA correspondent at the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet, late on the evening of 5 September USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N. Ryzhkov signed a special order meeting the demands of the sailors of the nuclear-powered fleet regarding the payment of part of their wages in hard currency. The sailors's strike has been called off.

Gosplan Official Discusses Fuel Shortages

90E0149A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Comments by S. Gavrilenko, subdepartment deputy chief at USSR Gosplan, reported by A. Fedotov and published under the rubric "Economic Panorama"; place and date not given: "What Is Happening to Fuel?"]

[Text] **We are used to believing that the country has almost unlimited reserves of oil. But nothing is eternal: Output of oil and condensate has begun to decrease. In 1988 we produced 624.3 million tonnes, and a year later the volume of output had decreased to 607.3 million tonnes. According to predictions, in 1990 we will probably produce about 585 million tonnes. And according to the evaluations of realists, one should not expect an improvement in the situation in the next few years.**

So what is happening to fuel in our country? Why are combines standing idle in the field and cars waiting at the filling stations? S. Gavrilenko, subdepartment deputy

chief at USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] comments on the alarming situation at the request of our correspondent.

A Specialist Comments

[Gavrilenko] There are several reasons for the shortage of gasoline. In the first place, there is the decrease in the volume of oil production. We are exhausting the largest oil fields, and new fields cannot measure up to them in size and productivity; in addition, substantial expenditures are needed to develop new fields. In the second place, there is a need to increase the use of oil in energy production to replace the energy which would have been produced at nuclear power stations. And in the third place, there are delays in the processing of oil (by 10 percent and more in comparison with the developed countries).

How are we to get out of the oil impasse? Most importantly, we must intensify the processing of oil and increase the efficiency of our car engines. Another genuine solution is the use of alternate types of automotive fuel, the most accessible of which are natural and liquefied petroleum gasses. I would like to speak about this at more length.

A number of decrees were adopted in 1981 and afterward directing that a million-strong fleet of cargo vehicles and busses running on bottled gas be created by 1990. But these rulings were only one-third fulfilled... Today about 150,000 cars run on natural gas and 170,000 run on liquefied gas. Filling stations are being built and production of the appropriate equipment, gas cylinders, automobiles that run on alternate fuels, mobile refuellers, and much else is being organized. The volume of gasoline and diesel fuels saved through the use of natural gas this year alone will grow by a factor of 20 in comparison with 1985.

But that is still not enough. Why were they unable to fulfill the program completely? Any interbranch program like this one is a chain of mutually connected obligations: If one link breaks, the whole program comes to a standstill. In our case the "break in the chain" came about, in the first place, because enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building and the USSR Ministry of the Defense Industry violated their obligations. Instead of 900,000 cars running on alternate fuels and equipment kits, they will only deliver a little more than a third of that number before the end of the five-year plan.

There are also other problems in the implementation of a program for natural gas fuels, including an astonishing lack of economy in the use of the potential that has been created. Judge for yourself: By the most modest calculations, of the 200,000 alternate-fuel cars supplied by industry about one-third are running on gasoline or the special equipment has been stripped off. As a result there is less gasoline for regular automobiles, and the special filling stations are not utilized and are unprofitable. And this is under conditions of an extreme fuel shortage!

And now I would like to talk about what we should do. Most importantly, we must increase production and broaden the selection of automobiles running on alternate fuels, especially on natural gas and diesel gasses. I understand that it is difficult to do this over the short term, but I do not see any other way out. For the present I believe that we may very quickly increase production of natural gas kits, particularly because the automotive transport enterprises already have experience in installing them.

We need economic prerequisites which contribute to a wider use of alternate fuels. The prices for equipping filling stations are growing at an unrestrained rate, and the cost of equipping mobile refuellers for alternate fuels is exorbitant. The absence of competition and a law against monopolies leads to dictate by the producer: For example, prices for liquefied petroleum gas in various regions of the country "leap" by a factor of three or more, which, naturally, creates preconditions for intrigues. For more than six months the Ministry of Finance has not been able to resolve the question of establishing equivalent wholesale prices for natural gas.

In my view it is worth using the government's rulings that are being prepared on ecological taxation to stimulate both suppliers and consumers of alternate automobiles.

And finally, I am firmly convinced that under conditions of a transition to a planned market economy, this interbranch and economic problem should also receive more attention and support from legislative and executive organs of the Union, the Union republics, and the oblast soviets of people's deputies. We need programs permitting us to coordinate the efforts of enterprises in the production of gas cylinders, natural gas kits for filling stations and automobiles, and their use. We are not dealing with fashionable trends, but with a major problem which life itself is forcing us to solve. Tomorrow may be too late....

Coke Ovens Face Closure

LD1009172790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0445 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] We now live in a time of shortages of basic necessities, from everyday household goods to food items. Even more, things which are, generally speaking, commonplace and essential, from tobacco to bread, and ordinary relatively cheap items, disappear before our very eyes. But you grow even more worried when you learn how badly the procurement of grain is being carried out. Not just because of harvest difficulties, but also because people often hold back grain due to changes for a possible price increase; or sell it to wholesalers or cooperative buyers at prices higher than those paid by the state. You also become not quite yourself when you hear about the possible shortage of energy sources that may affect industry and any of us this winter.

That is why, today, we asked our correspondent in Donetsk, Gennadiy Kandaurov, to tell us how the pits are functioning in Donbass and what the situation is like in the coalfield.

We are joining Donetsk now. Good morning, Gennadiy.

[Kandaurov] Greetings.

[Correspondents] I am ready to listen to your story.

[Kandaurov] Well, Zbykovskiy, manager of the coking by-product plant in Donetsk, a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, a USSR People's Deputy, called me to say that he has some extremely important news to tell.

It appears that the day before managers of the large coking by-product plants of Donbass and the Ukraine got together on their own initiative and discussed the issue of what they should do next. The trouble is that the reserves of raw material, that is, coking coal, at many coking by-product plants in Donbass and in the Ukraine are at minimum levels, so many plants are under threat of closing down. To close down coke ovens in a continuous action process is, as you understand, an immense problem. So, what should be done? They discussed the problem and decided to appeal to the miners and undertake some other necessary measures, as well as to bring in coal from other places.

But, generally speaking, the message is a very troubling one. The thing is that after the sharp reduction of the coal output in July and in August in Donbass, the situation is recovering too slowly.

ON the whole, for example, compared with last year the output of coal in Donbass and the Ukraine has fallen by 10 million tonnes. This is, certainly, a substantial amount. Take Donetsk, with 22 pits. It has reduced its coal output by one million tonnes compared with first year. There are very many reasons for this, the reasons which were mentioned last year, during the strikes, and again this year. Yet the materials supply situation at the pits is getting worse, not better.

[Correspondent] That is [?timber] materials necessary for production.

[Kandaurov] Equipment for the production process, equipment, various materials, timber. You know that the miners need pit props. Generally speaking, it is a disaster for them.

They are not getting any of these things. Furthermore, the number of shifts being worked by the miners has fallen drastically. They are supposed to work 22 shifts a month. But at a number of pits the average is only 12-13 at the moment. This is a catastrophic situation. I have read in a number of pit newspapers that emergency measures, so to speak, are being taken. You see announcements about this. How can regular attendance for shifts be encouraged? I don't know how it can be encouraged, in such a situation, or what temporary measures can be taken. Maybe scarce commodities, like cigarettes, beer, and so on, should be handed out at the pithead. But all this is beside the point. These are temporary measures. Serious measures are needed. And that's just what is lacking. The point is that the mines still don't know what's going to happen to them as a result of those draft plans for a market economy, now under very active discussion by the government.

[Correspondent] Generally speaking, even in the past the coal industry was considered to be loss-making.

[Kandaurov] The Donbass mines receive R3 billion in subsidies from the state so that they can extract coal. R3 billion is a colossal sum, of course. Take Donetsk, for example. Of the nine mines there, almost half are now on the brink of closure, so to speak, because they cannot pay wages. They are using bank credit to pay them. Quite simply, the question of their closure is on the agenda. So, where do we go from here? Many pits are worried about the future. The all-Union ministry of the coal industry has, up to now, not proposed any solutions. A State Committee for the Coal Industry—that's its name—has been set up in the Ukraine. But it is still in the organizational phase, so to speak. As you know, at one time there was a ministry. Then it became a big production association which, as a result of the strikes, was dissolved. Now it's been revived. Organizationally it's based in Kiev and Donetsk. That's where these questions are being tackled. But the actual problems at mines are not being tackled.

In general, there are many complicated problems. Now the miners themselves are trying to solve their problems in some way. I was told the following at the Panfilovskaya mine, for example. We are now very worried about the future, they told me. Our pit is one of those facing closure in market conditions. Coal extraction is very, very expensive. It cannot stand up to any competition. The miners are themselves seeking some sort of work. They are trying to use material from a nearby slag heap for other purposes—laying roads, for example—to make other materials from it. There they want to organize some kind of section for this.

Rostov Coal Miners Appeal for State Subsidy

PM1009141390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

["Appeal" adopted at meeting of representatives of labor collectives of the "Rostovugol" Production Association and the "Rostovshakhtostroy" Combine, Rostov-na-Donu, date not specified]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR
Comrade A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers
Comrade B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet

Comrade I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers

The 100,000-strong collective of the "Rostovugol" Production Association and the collective of the "Rostovshakhtostroy" Combine are forced to appeal to you and to voice profound alarm at the future of our sector and of the whole country.

We are convinced that this must concern the governments of the country and of Russia and all working people because our sector, in the absence of guaranteed material and technical supplies, will reach the point of collapse—which will have an adverse effect on the supply of fuel for the national economy and the population.

The well-known "500 days" program provides for the liquidation of loss-making enterprises. This will mean the closure of practically all Donbass mines. Yes, the mines make a loss. But it is not the miners' fault or because we work badly. It is due to natural conditions and the existing system of price formation.

Extracting sectors throughout the world are supported by the state, and so we believe that state support and priority supplies to the coal industry must be preserved.

We favor the market, but a reasonable market.

With state orders accounting for approximately 90 percent, we have already gone over practically to supplies in accordance with the principle of physical exchange. Suppliers demand of us an additional payment for output in the form of economic incentive funds and deliveries of consumer goods and diverse equipment and materials, which we do not produce and do not have.

An even worse situation will take shape in 1991. Given the establishment of state orders accounting for less than eight percent and the system of "direct ties" taking shape in the country, the work of enterprises will be paralyzed and people doomed to unemployment.

We are ready for state orders ranging between 80 and 90 percent, but in any case, even under market conditions, for the country not to freeze, at least 80 percent of the basic material resources that the sector needs must be state orders for our suppliers.

We believe that, given any political, economic, and social changes in the country, the promises made by the government to the miners must be fulfilled. Miners and mine builders are grateful to the country's government and Supreme Soviet for the fact that the majority of points in Resolution 608 (as in no other) are being fulfilled. But we believe that it must be fulfilled in full; that is the question of priority material and technical supplies must be resolved, and the programs for the social development of mining cities and settlements drawn up on the basis of the resolution must be fulfilled. These precise purposes demand subsidies, reasonable price formation, and adequate profitability.

The working people's collectives of the "Rostovugol" Production Association and the "Rostovshakhtostroy" Combine count on the positive resolution of the questions raised.

Agricultural

Military Supports RSFSR Harvest Efforts

904B0288A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel I. Yesyutin at the USSR Ministry of Defense Press Center for SELSKAYA ZHIZN: "In a Soldierly Way; Report from the Headquarters of the USSR Ministry of Defense Operational Group for Crop Harvesting on the Territory of the RSFSR"]

[Text] Several rooms were found in secluded areas of Moscow's Arbat to house the coordination center of a military contingent dispatched to the fields of Russia in accordance with a governmental decree. The numerical strength of this contingent today is already 66,000 persons and approximately 30,000 vehicles. In a word, a whole Army! It has been deployed in small garrisons throughout the entire republic—from Amur Oblast to Smolensk Oblast. This impressive "group" is headed by Lieutenant General Granit Fedorovich Dmitriyev.

The work day in the headquarters of the operational group starts early. Summary data on the employment of military equipment are laid out on the desk of Chief of Staff Colonel V. Kryzhov: In the last 24 hours, 18,215 motor vehicles worked in the fields of the republic. One thousand seventy-five vehicles stood idle for lack of loads; 5,540 due to poor weather in the rayons of the harvest; and 310 due to lack of fuel and lubricants. The largest percentages of idle time were in Tambov, Kursk, Lipetsk, and Saratov Oblasts as well as Krasnoyarsk and Altay Krays.

There was a redeployment of 2,850 motor vehicles to new rayons. The summary was supplemented by reports arriving from the localities: problems with the conscription of driver personnel, with supporting the frontline work, and with refueling. During the day it is necessary to explain, coordinate, and resolve questions concerning battalion command elements. There is a frequent need to send operational group officers on temporary duty to field locations.

Along with the group that conducts the overall coordination of harvest work by military subunits throughout the country, by a decision of the USSR Ministry of Defense an operational group is established annually especially for Russia. Its nucleus consists of people who have everyday experience and who have spent more than one season dealing with harvest concerns. They are here, as the saying goes, on regular assignment. The remaining personnel—about 20 officers from various services dealing with equipment maintenance and operation, food, medical, financial, fuel and lubricants support, military motor vehicle inspection, etc.—are detached from units and establishments of the Moscow Military District. There is a 24-hour watch in the harvest headquarters. The area of responsibility stretches across nine time zones.

But how are the military motorists working?

They were getting ready for the harvest. The newspapers debated the advisability of using military equipment in crop harvesting, but at the same time people and vehicles were being selected in the forces. Many officers, warrant officers, and petty officers volunteered for the second and third time for assignment to crop harvesting.

This year the USSR Ministry of Defense is helping the agricultural rayons under new conditions. The Army and Navy allocated equipment and formed subunits. But only each fourth vehicle is manned with conscript drivers. The "vacant" trucks are supposed to receive civilian drivers from the region that is being harvested. They arrive at the military subunits on a call-up from the reserves. The advantages to the military of such an approach are obvious: Interruption of the planned training of conscript soldiers and sailors is reduced by a factor of three, the driver complement of the reserve undergoes retraining, and the local authorities are involved in the call-up. But the economic managers do not like this state of affairs, to put it mildly. Collectives that have acquired independence are unwilling to release their people from production. And if they are released, at times it is not the best people. For example, the local authorities of Volgograd and Ryazan Oblasts tried to send individuals to fill battalion driver vacancies who have previously had their driver's permit revoked for driving under the influence of alcohol.

And not long ago Major V. Novopokrovskiy, an officer from the operational group, arrived from Saratov after having been in four conscript-battalions of the Odessa Military District. For lack of drivers here 432 vehicles stood idle.

The harvest is dragging on. On the one hand this can be tied to this year's unprecedented crop yield. But on the other hand the lack of proper organizational work is having an effect. For example the battalions from Stavropol, after handling their tasks well and leaving the kray, redeployed to Bashkiria and Astrakhan Oblast. But they redeployed without the previous number of drivers. The people of Stavropol did not want to harvest their neighbor's crop.

Today this kind of a problem is also becoming aggravated. The three-month term of "attached" service of some of the drivers is expiring. The harvest is not finished. The Army battalions are still needed by the national economy, but according to the law the drivers have to be released. The military does not know what to do here. Tired of the uncertainty, people are not having their best days. The problem demands an immediate resolution.

It is already apparent: The better and more effective work is occurring in those battalions where the driver echelons, however strange this may be, are formed entirely of conscripts. Here the efficiency of the transport conveyer is higher, military discipline is firmer, and there are less road and other accidents. It is not accidental that it is precisely these subunits that have achieved the best marks. Among these are the battalions under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ye. Gorbulev (North Caucasus Military District) and Lieutenant Colonel Ye. Ryapolov (Air Defense Troops).

Taking the complexity of the present situation with the cultivated crop into account, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], jointly with representatives of the USSR Ministry of Defense, has developed measures for providing material and moral work incentives for the military motorists. Annually, 8,600 rubles are allocated for bonuses for the best subunits.

But military drivers do not only transport grain. Meetings are held in harvest garrisons with delegates of the 28th CPSU Congress. In Ryazan Oblast, for example, V. Fomin, first secretary of the Mikhaylovskiy CPSU Raykom [rayon party committee], met with soldiers of the battalion commanded by Lieutenant Colonel V. Lavrenchuk, and in Saratov Oblast N. Babanskiy, first secretary of the Bazarno-Karabulatskiy Raykom, met with soldiers.

On the initiative of personnel of the battalion commanded by Major S. Savinkov, a monument to countrymen-soldiers situated in the Atkarskiy Rayon of Saratov Oblast was put in order.

And the crew of the field motor vehicle repair shop, consisting of Lieutenant V. Rusanov and Privates O. Shangaliyev and V. Naymushin, repaired kindergarten premises in the settlement of Aryash.

...The colorful Arbat is noisy. It is in a holiday and light-hearted mood with music, poetry, paintings. But in the rear of the Arbat, in an old building that shelters the operational group in several rooms, there is another life both troubled and alarmed, without sleep or rest—just as also happens in the time of "battle."

Farm Chief Complains About Obsolete Equipment

PM0709105190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Report by V. Kodkin and V. Morozov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A state of emergency has been declared in Irkutsk Oblast for the duration of the harvest.

[Reporter] Economists estimated the damage caused by the hurricane which passed across the fields of the Angara basin in mid-May at half a billion rubles [R]. Many farms had to resow grain and feed crops and replant vegetables. The harvest grown in such difficult conditions must be saved now. Losses already exceed R70 million. Yet the shortages of manpower, trucks, and quality agricultural equipment persist. And to cap it all, the cities are displaying unprecedented indifference.

In this situation decisive steps by the emergency commission, which is authorized to suspend operations at construction sites, plants and factories, are invaluable. There is an acute need for manpower in the countryside at the moment.

We filmed this reportage on the "Usolskiy" Sovkhoz [State Farm], one of the best in the oblast. The sovkhoz is known for its high standard of agricultural work and organization. They are managing to cope without help from the cities here, relying on their own resources. But the problems which the sovkhoz director described cannot be resolved by the sovkhoz on its own.

[A.G. Tatarnikov, director of "Usolskiy" Sovkhoz] It is difficult to harvest such flattened grain. Harvesting in all weathers, our combines are sustaining great losses constantly. The point is that all our equipment is so old and obsolete. That applies also to potato combines, and that means losses again. Losses and breakdowns.

We are managing to cope with our own transport facilities. We have not asked for a single truck, for a single pair of hands. But take the GAZ-53—it passes for a truck. It has been produced for 20 years, and that is how it has stayed. We get them on the farm, but there are no spare parts, no tires. I ask you, what are we to do? Do you wonder why there are losses? Everyone has had enough! But there is no action. Does no one know what is happening?

Packaging Problems Postpone Grape Shipments

PM1109085690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Report by D. Beybutov and V. Mamiyev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] Derbent grapes are sweet but their fate is bitter. People work hard all the year round to grow these grapes, yet when the picking season comes the problems with the grapes start here in Derbentskiy Rayon, in the very south of Dagestan.

[S.D. Kurbanov, director of the sovkhoz (state farm) named for Karl Marx] We do not have enough crates to ship out this perishable commodity—grapes—as fresh fruit. Crates were to have been delivered to us from Sverdlovsk and Kirov Oblasts and the Slavyansk plant in Krasnodar Kray. They have met our requirement only 30 to 40 percent. As a result we are unable to deliver the ripe grapes to industrial centers. [passage omitted]

Uzbek Melons Spoiling Due to Storage Problems

PM1109090490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Report by M. Ganiyev and S. Ziyamukhamedov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] Every fall the republic melon growers gather for the traditional melon harvest festival.

Just take a look at this abundance, at this wealth of color and fragrance. In Uzbekistan there are more than 300 melon varieties: early, fall, and winter varieties; sweet; aromatic; red, white, and golden varieties. You name it. This year there is a bumper crop—around 1 million tonnes of melons in the fields. I look at this abundance and I realize that the Uzbeks will not be able to eat all these melons. So what is to be done with this perishable surplus produce?

An alarm signal has already been received from the Karakalpak ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic]. Tonnes of melons are lying about and spoiling at railroad stations while waiting for freight cars to arrive. Leaseholders, kolkhozes [collective farms], and sovkhozes [state farms] are incurring losses and failing to achieve the planned profits. One-third of the crop may be lost as a result of our mismanagement because there are no storage facilities on the farms and there are no processing enterprises.

There is, it is true, an old-fashined method of drying melons. Last year farms of the republic Cucurbits Institute tried it out. But they found no market for the dried melons. Once again there is the problem of packaging and so forth. In short, what is lacking is a marketable presentation.

It is also incomprehensible why trading organizations in central parts of the country have not made an effort to come and ship out this produce.

The melons have been offered to foreign firms. But it appears they want melons of a standard size and color, and what is more packaged in boxes like these. In this form they would probably be welcome anywhere. But that is something we have yet to learn—it will take new varieties, geneticists' efforts, and time. But that is precisely what we do not have. The melons will perish unless they are marketed. But who will do it? There are plenty of melons in Uzbekistan. But does this also apply in Russian cities and the North?

Tyumen Grain Harvest Off to 'Good Start'

PM0709140590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading "News From the Fields"]

[Text] Tyumen—The harvest continues in Tyumen Oblast. Farmers have made quite a good start. Grain crops have been harvested and threshed from 60 percent of the area and the average yield is over 20 quintals per hectare. Over 1 million tonnes have been threshed and the state order will undoubtedly be fulfilled. Twice the usual amount of high quality silage has been laid in for storage. The areas in the oblast where corn is being cultivated using the grain technique have been increased. But not everything is going smoothly for the grain farmers. Delays in the supply of fuel and spares are slowing work down and farms have been too quick to write off equipment that is still serviceable.

Baltic Republics

Landsbergis Comments on Gorbachev Message 6 Sep

LD0609164290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Text] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman, Vytautas Landsbergis has told Radio Free Europe, that he has received a letter from the Soviet leader, urging him to except the decisions of the union agreement under preparation. However, Vytautas Landsbergis thinks that this is of importance to the Soviet Union rather than to independent Lithuania. Morever, he fails to understand the reasons why the Soviet leadership has resorted to such exhortations.

Lithuanian Economic Plans, Structure Outlined

LD1009171390 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0000 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Announcer Roma Pakieniene] Today, we shall examine more comprehensively how the government envisions the structure of the future Lithuanian economy. There exist may reasons why Lithuania does not yet possess an economic structure typical of an independent state.

First of all, a low level of industry, agriculture, construction, and a low production level of other economic branches limit the country's opportunities for participation in the world market and for completely meeting the Lithuanian peoples' needs.

Second, Lithuania is dependent on only one, raw material base, the USSR. At the same time, a large part of the country's production finds its way east. We obtain all of our principal raw materials, natural gas, crude oil, metals, cotton and also tractors, autos and many other machines and equipment from the Soviet Union alone. The negative aspects of such economic dependence were especially highlighted by the economic blockade of Lithuania. With this in mind, the government has set up a system of priorities, for the entire economy, as well as, for all of its branches.

Thus, there exist four very important orientations along which the Lithuanian economy will be developed.

First, to emerge from the monopoly-like dependence of the Lithuanian economy on the Soviet Union's raw materials' base and market.

Second, to utilize fuel and energy in a much more economical fashion.

Third, to considerably expand exports; and fourth, to be mindful of people's health and environment.

According to the government, the following should be the most important branches of the economy: agriculture and the food industry; the fuel and energy area; forest economy and wood-processing industry; all types of transport and communications; and also other branches of the economy, utilizing local raw materials and meeting first of all, the needs of the Lithuanian people while also being able to enter the world market. Each of these branches is individually discussed in the government program draft.

Food and fuel supply problems are currently the most urgent in Lithuania. For this reason I shall discuss them in more details.

For instance, the government is of the opinion that dairy and meat animal husbandry should continue to be the main agricultural orientation. The current situation will change, however in the area of feed procurement. To date, nearly one half of the required feed was brought in from the Soviet Union; of course, nearly a third of our meat and dairy products were given in return for this. It is planned to soon decrease by half the import of feed grain, while later, most probably, it will cease altogether.

Meanwhile, it has been estimated that Lithuania will have to continue purchasing, in the near future, in excess of 120,000 tons of feed grain per annum. Currently this amount equals 400,000 tons.

In addition to dairy products and meat production, flax production seems to be an especially promising area in agriculture. [passage omitted]

The entire Lithuanian food economy in general, should utilize local raw materials to the greatest possible extent.

Currently, in our country, two to two and one half times less food product final yield is obtained per agricultural production unit, compared to developed countries. The major problem here lies in the fact that we do not have the know-how and the facilities for processing secondary meat and dairy prodcuts and for processing various partially-processed products. [passage omitted]

The sugar that Lithuania is now obtaining only suffices for one out of four sugar enterprises. The government proposes a dual solution to the problem: to grow more local sugarbeet and increase their sugar-yield capacity, and to continue using imported sugar and raw materials. [passage omitted]

Prunskiene Expresses Concern About Economy

LD1009215790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Report by ELTA-TASSS correspondent Rita Grumadaite]

[Text] Vilnius, 10 Sep— The World Congress of Lithuanian Entrepreneurs began here today. Lithuanians living in the United States, Canada, Britain, and West Germany have arrived to share their knowledge and experience in the sphere of international commerce.

Speaking at the opening of the congress, Lithuanian Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene noted that the future of economic reform in Lithuania greatly depends on political solutions, above all on the results of talks between Lithuania and the USSR. Following the adoption of a moratorium for the period of the talks, the economic blockade was suspended for the third quarter of the current year.

In the words of the premier, she is concerned that the heads of many branches of industry, including metallurgy and transport, have not received permission to maintain economic ties with Lithuania in the last quarter of the year. It is also not known what has been decided about the sale of oil and gas to the republic. Since Lithuania is not aware of the USSR's intentions, Prunskiene stated, every effort is being applied to accumulate stocks of petroleum products and foodstuffs.

Lithuanian Draft Economic Program Outlined

904A0569A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 10 Aug 90 pp 1-3

[Draft Principles of Reform of the Lithuanian Economy]

[Text] **The government of the Lithuanian Republic, having completed its organizational work and prepared drafts for restructuring specific areas of the state and society, has integrated them into a comprehensive program for government activity. The program encompasses three major areas: principles of reform of the economy, the areas for reconstruction of the Lithuanian economy based on them, and the government's foreign policy. Today the government offers for the attention of republic residents the first part of the program for its activity which has already been refined since the parliamentary debates on this question. The government calls for political parties, social movements, and scientific, economic, and industrial organizations of Lithuania and all people of Lithuania who are not indifferent to its future to familiarize themselves with proposals for further improvement so that it will be possible to prepare a more detailed program, having already earmarked in it the basic stages of the reform of the economy and their sequence. The government requests that remarks and suggestions be sent before 1 September to the following address: Vilnius, Prospect Gyadimino, 38/2, the Minister of Economics of the Lithuania Republic. [Signed]The information service of the Government of the Lithuania Republic.**

The essence of the economic reform being conducted in Lithuania consists of transforming the Soviet model of the economy into a moderately state regulated socially oriented market economy. The model of the Lithuanian economy is being created by taking advantage of the experience of other countries of the world under conditions that are specific to and characteristic of Lithuania. World practice fully confirms that the economy functions effectively only when the following most important prerequisites are met:

a) a diversity of property forms and relations which contribute to the appearance of the motivated manager-proprietor (industrialist-entrepreneur, merchant) and manager-worker (farmer, craftsman, small businessman, and so forth) whereby the legal owner of property, the shareholder, or the worker may select the sphere of activity and the type of enterprise that is most effective for him;

b) markets of all kinds (capital, goods and services, labor) with their inherent competition and the possibility for participants in the market to freely select and for the state to participate in international relations;

c) hard currency.

An economic reform can be effective only under the condition that all these prerequisites are consistently met and all market elements are put to work.

To these ends we must have denationalization and privatization, demonopolization and internationalization of Lithuanian businesses.

During the period of transition to a market economy the regulating role of the state will be to create conditions that contribute to the appearance of active investors and a functioning market, provide social guarantees for the residents of Lithuania, be concerned about the ecological and human factors in the environment, reconstruct branches of the Lithuanian economy, and develop and balance its foreign economic ties. At the same time the state will have to engage in stabilization of the economy, that is, prevention of its decline in the period after the blockade and the period of reforms.

The general political prerequisites for realizing these principles of the economic reform are:

consolidation of Lithuanian independence as a result of negotiations with the USSR and the emergence from international isolation with respect to the East and West;

reconstruction of the internal political system during the creation of its democratic structures;

social and psychological inclination of the Lithuanian population toward the reform being implemented and confidence in it.

1. Denationalization and Privatization of the Economy

The active functioning of the market and the effectiveness of the economy are possible if the state sector encompasses no more than 40 percent of the economy. Therefore, the basis of the reform is denationalization of the economy with the gradual creation of a dynamic sector of private and group property. It is formed through denationalization of existing state and state-cooperative enterprises and organizations and also on the basis of the private capital of new enterprises. With the help of financial funds and the media the state encourages the creation of new private enterprises. As a result of this competition develops and new jobs appear.

The most important principles for privatization are:

a) privatization carried out mainly through the sale of state property;

b) for purposes of accelerating the initial stage of the process of privatization and accumulation of capital and the establishment of legal and sociopsychological conditions,the acquisition of up to 30 percent of the state property sold for investment (compensatory) checks, which are issued by the state to each resident of Lithuania in the form of integrated compensation for lost property or income not received during the years of Soviet power.

The same policy for compensation for or acquisition of property for citizens of the Lithuanian Republic also applies to individuals who have left Lithuania and are returning to Lithuania and have property here belonging to them through inheritance.

As the Lithuanian economy becomes stronger, in seven to 10 years additional measures may be taken for compensation for property;

c) in the initial stage of the reform, privatization mainly of small and medium-sized (in terms of property value) enterprises of various branches;

d) denationalization and privatization according to this plan: state—private individual (if the state enterprise is transformed into a private one) or state—private individual—group of private individuals (if a joint stock company or economic association is created on the basis of group ownership). Since the creation of group property of labor collectives according to the plan of state—labor collective is a manifestation of socialist and particularly Soviet ideology, it is not characteristic of our model of economic reform;

e) the possibility during the initial stage of the reform of applying leasing of state property with the gradual purchase of the leased property by the lessee from the lessor;

f) the utilization of incentive financial and credit measures to activate the process of privatization;

g) the sale of state property (including for investment checks for physical property) carried out as a rule at open and closed auctions;

h) the sale of certain kinds of state and state-cooperative property (land, property of agricultural enterprises) mainly at closed auctions;

i) granting property in the acquisition of shares or the creation of an economic association on the basis of a denationalized enterprise by workers of this enterprise;

j) the aspiration to enlist foreign capital in the process of privatization with the establishment, if necessary, of partial restrictions on it and encouragement of the reinvestment of profit from foreign capital in Lithuania;

k) the use of the revenue from the sale of denationalized property to increase the buying power of the lith [lita];

l) coordination of the denationalization of state property with the introduction of the lith and the stabilization of monetary circulation;

m) the creation of the corresponding legal institutional and economic mechanism for denationalization of state property and self-management.

The only branches of the economy not subject to denationalization are those whose functioning requires state control. State property includes, as a rule, communications, transportation, defense, environmental protection, and large energy facilities, natural resources, timber, architectural monuments, and other objects of our cultural heritage as well as the majority of facilities for social and cultural purposes. Facilities needed for the normal functioning of self-management are not subject to denationalization either.

With decentralization of architectural monuments and other objects of our cultural heritage the state establishes special conditions for their use and provides economic incentives for the owners of these objects to preserve them.

The transfer of the republic's public property to the self-administrations is not denationalization of property but only decentralization of state property and therefore the sale of some of the property of the self-administrations according to general principles established by the state is expedient and should be encouraged.

The right to private or group ownership is guaranteed by the temporary Basic Law of the Lithuanian Republic, the law on fundamentals of ownership, and other laws of the Lithuania Republic.

II. Peculiarities of the Land Reform

Paying attention to the great significance of the land as the basic wealth of nature and the main object of man's economic activity, when implementing denationalization and privatization of branches based on land use it is necessary to provide the proper evaluation of certain specific aspects which are simultaneously elements of the land reform:

1. Citizens of Lithuania who have expressed a desire to create private business or economic associations or to engage in other economic activity related to land use receive the right to ownership of the land from the moment they acquire it.

2. Land may be acquired on installments. It can also be paid for (fully or partially) with investment checks. The amount of the purchase of land, depending on its quality and the evaluation of the geographical position and also the procedure for paying for it are determined by the government of the Lithuanian Republic.

3. A preferential right to the land for agricultural production is granted to former owners who are citizens of Lithuania (including emigrants from Lithuania who

have returned) who have expressed a desire to obtain previously confiscated plots of land, with it being returned free of charge if the right to ownership has been retained. If a peasant farm or other object is located on their land, former owners are granted other plots of land with similar value.

4. The right to acquire land is granted first to local residents. In those apylinkes (volosts) where there are free areas for the creation of peasant farms they can be acquired by residents of other apylinkes (volosts) or cities.

5. Lithuanian citizens or groups of them who have expressed a desire to lease plots of land or self-administrations [samoupravleniye] are allotted them in keeping with the established procedure from a specially formed land fund.

6. Qualification requirements apply to individuals who have acquired land for economic purposes.

7. When land in special environmental protection or cultural zones is sold or leased the state establishes special conditions for its use and provides economic incentives for observing them.

III. The Market and Prices

With the implementation of the economic reform market prices are gradually formed. The establishment of prices is the prerogative of the property owner. The true price of the goods or services for the buyer is established during the conclusion of the buying and selling transaction. The transition to market relations will depend on the course of privatization.

State price regulation is necessary to provide social guarantees, to limit monopolistically high prices and profits, and also to organize interstate exchange.

Subsidies will not be allotted as a widespread means of covering losses. In order to neutralize the social consequences of raising prices for this reason, the population will be paid the corresponding compensations.

Parallel function will begin in all kinds of markets (goods and services, capital, labor) and measures will be activated for state regulation of them without limiting activity and equal rights of the market participants themselves. Exchanges (commodity, currency, securities, labor) will be created to serve and activate the market.

In order to form the goods and services market the government will have to take special measures to increase the balance of supply and demand, including:

create state commodity reserves for unforeseen cases (natural disasters, sharp fluctuations in market conditions, the need to stabilize prices);

spread out responsibility for the formation of commodity resources among ministries, state services, and self-administrations;

taking into account the export-import balances, introduce export-import quotas and duties and determine the licensing procedure;

use a modified form of a state order as an agreement between the state or its authorized state control agencies and the producer or consumer;

if necessary, determine the conditions and rules for streamlining consumption.

In order to create a labor market it is necessary to reorganize the entire system of hiring and paying for labor, which should be based on voluntary agreements between the owner and the free worker.

In that case the cost of labor is formed on the labor market and the state will regulate only the minimum wage. The goal of the state, which previously consisted of providing for full employment, will now be replaced by an orientation toward efficient employment and a high level of it.

Here it is necessary to create a central and local labor exchange with simultaneous expansion of the network of operating labor placement bureaus, to develop a state system of requalification and increasing qualifications, and also to stimulate the creation of commercial centers.

For successful function of the market it is necessary to limit the creation of monopolistic groups and associations. It would be expedient to support the associations of enterprises that are created on the basis of free self-determination and to carry out their activity exclusively according to commercial principles.

IV. Banks and Money

1. The most important prerequisites for the effectiveness of monetary circulation are:

a) the creation of an independent banking and financial system;

b) the introduction of personal money;

c) the existence of an active policy that provides for an efficient commodity and monetary balance.

2. The basis for the creation of an independent banking system is to take over from the USSR all banking institutions located in Lithuania with all of their assets and liabilities and also the corresponding part of the reserve, charter, and other funds of these banks. In parallel it is necessary to create an independent system of international accounts, a foreign payment balance and credit, and it is also necessary to provide for independence of finances and the budget.

3. The introduction of the lith is linked to the creation of a system of Lithuanian banks and the transfer of border control and customs to the Lithuanian state through the integration of this process along with privatization and other fundamental changes in the economic system.

4. It is necessary to limit the monopoly of the currently operating large banks and to accelerate the development of a network of joint stock and private commercial banks and also other financial institutions. Banking and rendering financial intermediary services should be opened up for foreign capital.

5. At the same time the bank of Lithuania is provided with a real status as a central state bank. Its main task is to regulate emission of the lith and try to turn it into a hard and convertible currency.

V. Finances and the Budget

1. The state financial and investment system will be changed radically with their adaptation to conditions of a market economy.

2. The basis of the budget system of the Lithuania state is comprised of the profit tax on corporate bodies, the income tax from the population, and excises (turnover tax).

3. Balance of the budgets of the Lithuania state and the self- administrations and the dependence of their expenditures on the sources of direct incomes is provided by the independence of the budgets of the self-administrations.

4. The taxes on profits of corporate bodies and the income tax from the population are maintained at a level which will activate entrepreneurship and stimulate investments of foreign capital in Lithuania. Tax breaks should be applied at a certain stage for investors in business that are advantageous to Lithuania. Reinvestment of their profit in the Lithuanian economy is encouraged without limiting imports.

5. The Lithuanian tax system is subject to coordination with the systems of the neighboring states and the states of the European Economic Community with the signing of the corresponding interstate agreements.

6. For purposes of accumulating capital it is necessary to reduce taxes on it as compared to consumption.

VI. Social Protection

1. Improvement of social protection will be carried out in two directions:

a) development of social guarantees and legislative reinforcement of them;

b) demonopolization and decentralization of state functions.

2. The Lithuania Republic guarantees each citizen:

pension support and a minimum wage;

the issuance of unemployment compensation only to individuals who are registered with the labor exchange and are actively looking for work;

the granting of a social stipend (in cases where the family income does not reach the minimum subsistence level), which is deducted according to the principle opposite to the income tax, that is, with the addition of the missing part of the income;

rendering of assistance in acquiring the minimum dwelling space;

minimum education free of charge;

the observance of laws on work time, vacations, and work safety at enterprises and in organizations under all kinds of ownership;

partial compensation for income not received because of increased prices.

Citizens living below the poverty level who have not received full income are fully compensated for the income they have not received, and citizens who have received greater incomes than this are compensated for the amount they have lost at a uniformly decreasing compensation norm.

3. At the state level it is necessary to solve problems of concluding interstate agreements, participation in international organizations and ratification of the corresponding conventions, adopting laws and normative acts and control of them under the conditions of improving the entire system of social protection, encouragement of social support at all levels, and also questions of implementing state social programs and rendering effective aid in extraordinary situations. With demonopolization and decentralization of state functions in the area of social protection:

the state budget for social insurance is separated from the state budget and the entire budget system and the utilization of budget funds in state institutions are streamlined;

conditions are created for the development of private social insurance and private and nonprofit institutions in the areas of education and public health;

the state guarantees payment for social services at the level of the prices set for them in institutions under all kinds of ownership;

for all who render social services professional and technical standards are established and their observance is monitored by the state;

citizens taking advantage of the services of a private institution must cover the costs that exceed the standards set by the state.

VII. Stages of the Reform

It is intended to conduct the following stages of the reform which are distinguished by economic and political processes characteristic of them: **Preparatory stage:** Starting at the beginning of 1988 until the development of legal foundations for the economic reform.

Signs of the completion of this stage are the adoption of basic laws regulating the new economic system.

Work for preparing for the economic reform was begun in the spring of 1988 after the development of the concept of the economic independence of Lithuania. In spite of the fact that to a certain degree this concept was forged by a not altogether clear political mentality and an unfavorable political situation, in the economic sense it reflects the main principles of the future transformation of the Lithuanian economy into a market economy.

The first legal step in the direction of the new economic system was taken on 18 May 1989 after the adoption of the law on the foundations of the economic independence of Lithuania. More than 20 work groups were immediately created to develop the draft laws necessary for carrying out the transformation of the economic system. By 1 March 34 of these drafts had been developed. By July 1990 the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic had approved seven drafts. The most important of them were the law on the fundamentals of ownership, the law on the Bank of Lithuania, the law on enterprises, and the law on local self-management. They open up the way for the adoption of other laws regulating economic relations.

In the remaining period of the preparatory stage (from July through October 1990) it will be necessary to create the basic prerequisites for the economic reform: to adopt everything necessary for local privatization and liberalization of the law (law on prices, law on bankruptcy, law on privatization and so forth—see appendix); to develop a program for imposing order in the budget system; and to distribute economic management functions efficiently. **Stage I. From the beginning of privatization to the creation of the necessary internal and external conditions for the reform (October-December 1990).**

The stage includes: negotiations with the USSR and other countries concerning individual aspects of cooperation, local privatization, and the introduction of free prices while retaining a certain amount of state regulation of them for social purposes, and the determination of social guarantees.

Signs of the completion of this stage: As a result of the agreement with the USSR, the appearance of prerequisites for the creation of an independent financial and banking system and customs, the takeover of enterprises, the conclusion of international treaties for economic cooperation, the beginning of the influence of the private sector on market conditions, and the creation of prerequisites for expanded ties with the West. **Stage II. From the transfer of the economy and its regulation to the jurisdiction of the republic to the reinforcement of market principles.**

This stage includes: the creation of a financial and banking system and customs, the deepening of privatization, the creation of conditions for competition in the economy, the corresponding regulation of relations between free market and state prices, greater balance between the commodity volume and the monetary mass, streamlining of external ties with the East and West, and regulation of social development.

Signs of the completion of this stage: Lithuania fully controls its economy, acquires to possibility of regulating the movement of the work force, material values, commodities, and monetary circulation at its external borders, creates a customs system, activates foreign investments, and improves the support for the domestic market. The lith has been introduced, and monetary circulation and real incomes of the population are stabilized.

The predicted duration of the period is one to two years. **Stage III. Strengthening of the Lithuanian market economy that has been created.**

This stage includes: complete transformation of property relations, a diversity of types of enterprises, market prices, implementation of the monetary policy, the formation of markets (capital, commodities, labor), the creation of an effective social security system, extensive enlistment of foreign capital and technologies, and expansion of the production of exportable products that contribute to the formation of an adequate currency reserve, guaranteeing the convertibility of the lith, regular improvement of the standard of living of Lithuanian citizens, activation of their entrepreneurship, and the formation of a commercial mentality.

The indicators of the completion of this stage: the functioning of a moderately state regulated, socially oriented market economy the recognition of the national currency of Lithuania on an international scale, and the appearance of the possibility of using it in international accounts at an established rate with respect to foreign currency.

The predicted duration of the state is four to five years, and its completion will be in 1996-1997. **The reform period.**

Effective functioning of the Lithuanian economy and its inclusion in the world economic system. Its approaching the standard of living of developed countries.

Appendix Basic laws of the Lithuanian Republic subject to adoption in the preparatory and first stages of the economic reform.

I. Laws regulating the activity and privatization of the enterprises.

1. Program for denationalization
2. Law on denationalization
3. Law on state enterprises (enterprises of local self-administration)
4. Law on joint stock and closed stock companies
5. Law on economic associations
6. Law on the register of enterprises
7. Law on restriction of monopolistic actions and illegal competition
8. Law on bankruptcy of enterprises

9. Law on accounting

II. Laws regulating the land reform:

1. Law on the land reform
2. Law on land
3. Law on land tax

III. Laws regulating the creation of markets and the sphere of finances:

1. Law on prices
2. Law on budget structure
3. Law on income tax from the population
4. Law on profit tax from corporate bodies
5. Law on commercial banks and other credit institutions

IV. Laws regulating integration into the international economy:

1. Law on foreign investments on the territory of Lithuania
2. Law on foreign contracts
3. Law on customs
4. Law on currency control

V. Laws regulating the social sphere

1. Law on guaranteed incomes
2. Law on fundamentals of the social security system
3. Law on employment of the population
4. Law on wages
5. Law on pensions
6. Law on hiring
7. Law on housing.

Brazauskas Departs on Visit to Azerbaijan

LD1009215290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Today Algirdas Brazauskas, deputy prime minister, and Antanas Tarasevicius, deputy minister of material resources, left for Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan.

The aim of their visit is to discuss the possibilities of widening links in the spheres of economy, science, and technology. An agreement on these issues is to be signed between Lithuania and Azerbaijan.

Academician on New Lithuanian Political Faction

LD0809120190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0000 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Report by Darius Tarasevicius, including interview with Academician Eduardas Vilkas, on work of Lithuanian Supreme Council]

[Text] This is Darius Tarasevicius. One more faction was set up at the Lithuanian Parliament on the first day of the second session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council. This is a faction of Free Democrats, although most deputies belonging to it are members of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The statement of the faction read by Academician Eduardas Vilkas said that the road from the imperial province, the totalitarian state structure, and beggarly economy, to independence and a flourishing democratic society has never been easy to anybody. Our success will be decided by how much we are able to control the internal contradictions which objectively exist, and which therefore cannot be eliminated. Only constructive cooperation between political and social groups is beneficial to Lithuania. Democracy is a condition for this cooperation to emerge. Democracy and civil concord is preferable to dictat, even if it comes from the majority. Competence and patience instead of revolutionary and super-patriotic slogans. Lithuanian conservatism instead of uncompromising radicalism, the statement says.

Academician Eduardas Vilkas told Vilnius Radio that people's interests in society are very different, and these interests must be recognized and respected. The faction of Free Democrats will try to implement this, first of all, at the Lithuanian Parliament.

However, deputies belonging to the faction will not just confine themselves to this activity. Here is Eduardas Vilkas:

[Begin recording] [Vilkas] The faction will rely on forces which are outside the bounds of the Supreme Council. Probably, these will mainly be intellectuals and people of liberal thinking who are of a democratic disposition. Although the majority of us are members of the communist party—we also have non-party people—we do not want to lay stress on this.

[Tarasevicius] In other words, those who are expecting a faction of the Lithuanian Communist Party to be announced could be somewhat disappointed, if I may say so, because this is not a faction of the communist party.

[Vilkas] That's right. I think that at the moment setting up a communist party faction would not be expedient, because the Party Congress is to take place soon and it is possible that the party will again undergo a vigorous reorganization. Therefore, it would not be somewhat logical—I would even say inappropriate—to set up a faction of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Members of the Lithuanian Communist Party [LCP] are in the central faction as well as in non-members. Therefore, belonging to the LCP is rather relative. Most members of the Presidium are members of the LCP or had been members of this party. Therefore, I would think this is not of great significance. [end recording]

[Tarasevicius] I asked Vilkas who the faction would support when the Lithuanian Supreme Council and the Council of Ministers was in disagreement. Eduardas

Vilkas answered that any attempt to topple the government of Lithuania today would be a disservice to Lithuania. He stressed that the government deserved to be criticized; however, all the troubles could not be placed at its door for which the government does not bear the blame. According to him, it looks as if the government cannot concentrate and is delaying the urgent measures for the implementation of the economic reform.

Academician Vilkas said that the faction would support the government. However, he stressed that it would be unwise to stand resolutely for one or the other side in advance. Here is E. Vilkas:

[Begin recording] [Vilkas] Correct decisions must be supported. When there is a case of the majority proposing something reasonable, then of course we will render our support. However, at the same time, we will attempt to resist those decisions which according to our point of view are not either democratic or wise, from the point of view of the economy, or in some other way.

When the situation becomes very complicated, I think that while seriously criticizing the government, one must think what this new government will be like. Do we really have anyone who would be better, indeed?

[Tarasevicius] Since the beginning of the second session, the Lithuanian Liberty League has staged a daily picket opposite the Supreme Council, demanding the resignation of Lithuanian Premier Prunskiene. Are members of the new faction not afraid of becoming yet another target for attacks from the radicals.

[Vilkas] As long as there is no physical violence, there is no need to be frightened. Of course, this is not a pleasant thing when the same people of Lithuania behave rather unwisely, putting it mildly. Having enemies is a must to them. When these enemies are not available, they have to find some. I think that most deputies have already grown tired of the tomfoolery opposite the Supreme Council. I would not be against the former quietness and solemn spirit being restored to Independence Square. [end recording]

Lithuanian Sajudis Condemns Liberty League Moves

LD0809091590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0000 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] A statement condemning the hunger strike action opposite the parliament houses staged by the Lithuanian League of Liberty this week demanding the resignation of the government was made by the Lithuanian Sajudis Seimas Council.

According to the opinion of Antanas Terleckas, the leader of the league, which was made public today in the LIETUVOS AIDAS, a semi-official organ of the press, the Lithuanian economy is being deliberately destroyed by Kazimiera Prunskiene's government, her ministers, who have instructions to do so and who carry out the will of the Lithuanian Communist Party. According to A. Terleckas, the enemies of Lithuania are sitting in the Council of Ministers who want to provoke the nation's displeasure with the appalling state of the economy, so the nation itself will drive the parliament away and would ask for the presidential rule.

On Tuesday, when the autumn session of the Supreme Council started, Vytautas Landsbergis criticized the actions of the league. The Sajudis Seimas Council urged the Lithuanian public not to give support to the action undertaken by the league while staging hunger strikes, organizing rallies or any other actions.

At the same time, the government was urged to more resolutely aim at political, economic, and social stability. The statement of the Sajudis Seimas Council was published in the same issue of the LIETUVOS AIDAS.

Last night, speaking on Lithuanian TV the leader of the Liberty League maintained again that in the next two months the mob will chase the parliament away. According to Antanas Terleckas, if the communist party nomenklatura attacked the actions of the league, the league was proceeding along the right path. He reminded that last year Sajudis also did not support the initiative taken by the League to collect people's signatures renouncing the Molotov-Ribbentrop conspiracy and demanding to eliminate its consequences. Only later on did Sajudis support the action of signature collection.

Gorbunovs Interviewed About Kuzmin's Complaint

LD0809124690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1239 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Text] [Announcer] Colonel-General Kuzmin, commander of the troops of the baltic military district, has sent a letter to Anatolijs Valeryanovich Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. It has been published in the newspapers. The letter is quoted by our correspondent in Riga, Ninel Meshkun:

[Meshkun] In recent times, the military council of the Red Banner Baltic Military District has sent you several protests arising from the adoption by the Latvian Supreme Soviet of a whole series of legislative enactments that infringe the human rights of servicemen and the members of their families. But, unfortunately, our official questions still remain unanswered which gives rise to a wave of dissatisfaction and indignation within the Army. Particularly intense resentment has been caused by the decision of the Latvian SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic's] highest organ of power terminating the validity throughout the republic of USSR Council of Ministers instruction number 1943R, dated 2 November 1989.

As a result of this inhumane act, thousands of officers and men of the Soviet Army and the members of their families have been deprived of their temporary residence permits for the areas in which the military units are stationed and, at the same time as this, of the basic human rights to work, medical care, education, the placing of children in preschool institutions, and the supply of essential goods.

Such enactments are impermissible in a civilized society. In a law-governed state, they cannot be decided on unilaterally, without approval by the president and the USSR Supreme Soviet. The district's military council sees the abovementioned decision as a further attempt to push the Latvian public into stepping up the conflict with the Armed Forces and provoking servicemen into more decisive steps to defend their constitutional rights and demands its annulment at the next session of the Supreme Soviet.

I interviewed Anatolijs Valeryanovich gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet:

[Begin Gorbunovs recording] The alarm of particular groups of the population in our republic, especially the needy and retirees, is, of course, justified. It so happened that military people have come to be the category in our population that is the least socially protected. Here, in my view, one can, of course, submit justified claims to the local authorities, but it seems to me that it is necessary to change the system itself very quickly. This question is long overdue for solution. It's not so hard to solve. After all, now, when the period of transition to the establishment of full statehood is taking place in our country, the status of the Army must be defined by a treaty, so that our obligations, as it were, are clear, and the Army knows its place in the republic. [end recording]

[Announcer] Those were the words of Comrade Gorbunovs. You know, I should like to add to what has been said that I do, of course, agree with what was stated in the interview about servicemen now being probably the least socially protected people. As for the phrase, the Army knows its place, I think that it does know it and is not just performing the federationwide, nationwide functions of defending the state, but just look at the Chernobyl disaster and the flames of interethnic conflicts—everywhere the Army has been called in. So, clearly, it has to be regarded not as something in isolation, but as one of the most important federal structures of our federative state.

Border Tension Down After 'European Path' Action

PM1009131990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Major V. Zadubrovskiy under the rubric "Direct Line": "Terrorist on Border"]

[Text] Baltic Border District—There has been a noticeable drop in the number of people at the Lazdijai border post since the "European Path" action, and tension has abated. Nevertheless, the border guards had enough work to do one day recently. Citizens were being allowed through in both directions as usual: Groups of people approached the checkpoint, showed their documents, and, if all was in order, proceeded further. One of these groups had been infiltrated by a violator. At first he behaved calmly, but on approaching the checkpoint he began shouting and demanded that the border be opened, threatening with an explosive device. He really was holding something like a jar of preserves, from which protruded a cord resembling a detonator.

"If people had not been around, the border guards would have acted unhesitatingly," Colonel V. Antsupov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Baltic Border District Political Department, said, commenting on the situation. "But they had no right to sacrifice human lives and so they let the terrorist through, but he was arrested on the Polish side. It has become known that he was A. Amirov, a resident of Latvia from the settlement of Kalnciems in Yelgavskiy Rayon. He has not yet been handed over to the Soviet side."

Estonian Supreme Soviet Convenes 10 Sep

LD1009163190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] An hour ago the 15th session of the Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet began, with 82 MPs present and 23 absent. Scheduled Supreme Soviet sessions will last until 20 December.

Introductory remarks were presented by Arnold Ruutel, chairman of Republic of Estonia Supreme Soviet. He dwelled briefly on the problems facing the Supreme Soviet and the current political situation. Arnold Ruutel acknowledged that we know where we want to go but we have not found optimal ways for changing over.

Also Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar said some introductory words. He noted that the session is starting work in the conditions of a political, economic, and moral crisis. Great discontent has gained ground. The question arises: Is Estonian society at all ready for extraordinary economic transformations?

The session continues. It is possible to listen to the speech of Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet in the Today program on Vikerraadio at 1800.

Supreme Soviet Hears Report on USSR Talks

LD1009204190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] A session of Estonia's Supreme Soviet opened in Tallinn today. On the agenda are issues concerning talks with the USSR and the Russian Federation, and also the matter of abolition of state subsidies for meat and dairy produce and fish produce, and payment of compensation to the population.

A report on the progress of talks in Moscow, which, as is known have been suspended, since Estonia, from the point of view of the USSR Constitution, is a component part of the Soviet Union and cannot be the subject of negotiations, was delivered by Nugis, leader of the Estonian delegation. In his opinion, the talks went all right to begin with, but then Moscow started attempting to redefine them as consultations. Then it was stated in general that the Moscow delegation had no powers to conduct them.

The opinion has been repeatedly expressed in the local press that the talks have been influenced in a certain way by the sally by members of the Katseliit organization, who on 2 September, on the pretext of command and staff exercises, embarked on an attempt to restore the pre-war border of Estonia on the territory of the Leningrad and Pskov Oblasts. The session in Tallinn will continue its work on Tuesday [11 September].

Estonia Seeks Own Armed Forces, U.S. Advisers

LD0709185290 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 17 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloverian]

[Text] Tallinn September 7 TASS—Independent Estonia will need its own Armed Forces to ensure its neutrality, the Committee of Estonia decided at its latest regular session. The committee is a standing body of the Congress of Estonia's Citizens, a public movement favouring the restoration of an Estonian Republic on the basis of its 1938 Constitution.

According to the committee, the republic will need two divisions numbering no more than 16,000 men. The committee regards it advisable to place U.S. Army officers with Estonian background in command of the to-be-created Armed Forces.

As an army is expected to be subordinate to its founders, practical steps will have to be taken after elections to the state assembly of the Estonian Republic.

Preparations planned for the move include resuming the activity of the Kaitseliyt (Defence Union) volunteer armed organisation, which was first established in 1918 to reach the peak of its activity during the years of the bouregois Republic.

The Kaitseliyt now numbers more than 4,000 men, has a general headquarters, a ramified stucture in localities and a well-established system of operational and logistic training.

The military command staff exercises of this organisation on September 1 and 2 resulted in attempts to set border signs along the pre-war Estonian border, which now runs across Russian territory.

The Estonian government denied any involvement in this action.

Savisaar Addresses Estonian Supreme Soviet 6 Aug

90UN2715A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Aug 90 pp 1-2

[Speech by Edgar Savisaar at the extraordinary 13th session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet on 6 August 1990]

[Text] The thorough report given by A. Ruutel frees me of the need to present an all-encompassing analysis of the relations between the Estonian Republic and the USSR. I will try to discuss certain important aspects and key issues.

1. We must be able to place events correctly in time. If necessary, a politician must be able to wait and reinforce his positions, and it is impossible to move straight ahead unless the circumstances allow it. It seems to me that sometimes we are lacking in common peasant wisdom. It is quite clear that plowing always begins at a certain time and if spring comes late it is necessary to begin plowing later. The problems of our agriculture are brought about by the Bolshevist order-instruction on when to plow and when to plant. Even the youngest resident of the coastal area knows that an intelligent person waits for the necessary wind and does not rush into the deep at breakneck speed, especially if his ship is not sound. But it is apparently in the blood of some of our modern politicians to make promises and set deadlines as to when our prosperity and freedom will come. When I was abroad I saw in one of the publications over there that come September Estonia would finally be free. And if these promises do not come true (and they can come true only because of our good intentions since they are backed by no analysis or calculations even though the processes are very significant and largely independent of us), they will lose their heads, become hysterical, and begin to make a fuss and accuse one another.

I would like to give one example: Landsbergis is undoubtedly a politician of the first magnitude and nobody would call him a short-sighted or superficial state figure. Why is he dragging his feet with the negotiations? Even though, there is no doubt that his greatest wish is to provide for Lithuanian independence through negotiations with Moscow. And on the other hand, why is Moscow threatening that if Lithuania does not begin negotiations immediately the blockade will be restored. It seems to me that in the current situation what Moscow needs are not negotiations but the fact of their beginning so that the whole world can see this and it can thus gain greater benefits in commodity exchange and credit policy and also in public opinion. By giving them this chance we immediately lose one of the most important arguments in our support. I am saying that Moscow is not yet ready for negotiations either with Lithuania or with the Baltic republics as a whole. And if these negotiations were to begin we still do not know how they would proceed. Until recently all Moscow has offered us is to make the current situation more permanent in the form of a confederation or reinforce it with a new Union treaty for a federation. Thus no negotiations have been possible since we have had to discuss a new Union treaty or something similar. Perhaps those who criticize us for not having begun negotiations need to have precisely a Union treaty. But that would not be in our interests.

The all-Union commission on negotiations with Lithuania was actually created only for economic negotiations with the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. All you need to do is analyze the composition of the commission and you will understand that these people do not resolve strategic issues of independence but engage in concrete economic affairs. This is why the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is dragging its feet and demanding a clarification of the preliminary conditions and the principles with which the negotiations will be started. But the other side wants to confuse this as much as possible so that later they can interpret what took place in various ways.

2. We cannot simultaneously want freedom (that is, to get out from under the centralist power of Moscow) and at the same time strive to maintain friendship with the Moscow central authorities at any price. If we have selected the path of freedom, from the very beginning we should have recognized that we had to be ready for self-denial. We have to decide, figuratively speaking, whether we want to pour another 40 liters of gasoline into our tanks or whether we want to have our own way completely. We cannot have both at the same time. In the Union there are political forces which are just waiting for us to abandon our principles for the sake of gasoline, sugar, or coffee. And then, possibly, we will have this gasoline, sugar, or coffee and continue to have it until the word of the center in the collapsing Union will again be decisive when it comes to distributing resources.

We are faced with difficult days and there is no doubt that they will take advantage of every opportunity to make us throw up our hands and admit that our undertakings are hopeless. Our problem could be raw material—metal, cotton, leather, and so forth. And there are also many other things with which we could have problems. This must be taken into account and must be explained to the people, and we must try to live through this time with as little pain as possible. The present economic blockade which de facto (not de jure) is not far away will inevitably lead to a decline in the standard of living. The economy, banking, foreign trade, and many other things as well as the higher prices for products purchased from the USSR (grain, animal feed, and so forth) or the abolition of subsidies by the USSR (fish, grain, and so forth) in any case will lead to higher princes in Estonia; this is inevitable. But if we were to make payments to the Union the situation would be even worse. In essence we are being held in economic captivity and one would have to be a great romantic to ignore that.

We are completely dependent on the USSR for the following groups of goods which are vitally important to us. I shall list six categories:

1. Fuel (gasoline for motor vehicles which was mentioned); diesel fuel—about 700,000 tons; hard coal—485,000 tons, including Silesian coal—310,000 tons, which beginning on 1 January will be sold for hard currency and become difficult for us to acquire, and the load on the coal basins of the USSR will increase significantly; fuel oil—more than 1.5 million tons; natural gas 1.6 billion cubic meters, and so forth.

2. Raw material for light industry (cotton—43,000 tons, natural wool—2,800 tons, artificial fiber—2,900 tons, and so forth).

3. Grain (partially). In 1991 we shall have to purchase from the USSR: grain for food—380,000 tons and grain for feed—650,000 tons, and the government has announced that the grain will be sold to us at considerably higher prices than before.

4. Food products: sugar—135,000 tons; real coffee—2,700 tons, and so forth.

5. Metal: ferrous metal, steel pipes, gold, and so forth. We will now buy up gold and create a gold reserve for the government, but that will not cover our needs.

6. Imported raw and processed materials for our enterprises, the majority of which are operating on imported raw material.

I repeat that all of the aforementioned goods are extremely important for us and a reduction of the volume of their procurements will have an immediate effect on the economy and on each citizen since our reserves are negligible. This includes emergency supplies which we began to create in the spring when the new government was formed. At the same time the USSR can sell the majority of the aforementioned goods for hard currency (including to us) or buy them for hard currency, such as certain imported materials, raw material, and so forth, in order to sell them to us for rubles as has been the case up to this point.

Now if we look at the so-called "hard currency rubles" which we are selling to the USSR, they are used mainly in the following spheres:

1. meat and meat products;
2. milk and dairy products;
3. light industry products, especially fabrics and rugs;
4. furniture;
5. certain food products;
6. fish and preserved fish products;
7. machine and instrument building.

The majority of the aforementioned items are such that if the USSR were to begin to sell its goods for hard currency and not purchase our goods for hard currency at this point we would not be able to sell them at acceptable prices to other countries which have hard currency. Only a few branches of our economy bring in hard currency (and the majority of it goes out of Estonia). Moreover, we hold the view that all the hard currency they earn should basically remain in these branches so as to preserve the existing potential instead of distributing it.

The fixed capital of all branches of industry has been amortized and the technology is obsolete. Large investments, mainly in hard currency, will be required to update it. The USSR has large debts in hard currency and it is becoming impossible to obtain investments from there, not only politically but also economically.

Such is the situation, which is well known to the central authorities of the USSR, with whom we are trying to begin negotiations. These are facts which cannot be ignored. This situation has been formed over the decades and cannot be changed quickly. Although work is now being done in this direction. According to the calculations of Estonian economists, the achievement of independence in the economy without large crises and turning to the West will take seven to eight years. Of course it would be possible to get out of the crisis more quickly, but then it would be felt more strongly.

3. We are giving too little discussion to the subject of how to break out of economic dependence after we become free and independent politically. I am convinced that in the USSR there are forces which are dreaming of nothing more than giving us, as it were, "ragamuffin" and helpless freedom. And then they will begin quietly to shift public opinion under the conditions of economic difficulties in the direction of the Union treaty. Hence—the third principle—we must not only be free politically but must also stand on our own feet economically. This is a question of horizontal ties, the general market, and other forms of economic cooperation with republics and regions of the USSR.

From the very beginning strengthening positions in this area was the cornerstone of the government's eastern policy—supporting democracy in Russia and other places in the USSR, contributing to its strengthening, and at the same time exerting pressure on the conservative forces and the central government. In Moscow and Leningrad they do not consider it an accident that the supply of food to the population deteriorated after the democrats came to power in these cities. They are trying to discredit the new authorities, to show that they are not capable of anything and that the people in general are not ready for democracy. We have begun a series of negotiations with Leningrad. The result of them will be a political and economic treaty, the draft of which will be ready by the end of this month. Then there will be one with Kiev, where consultations with the Kiev City Soviet have been conducted by a delegation headed by the deputy mayor of Tallinn, Irina Raud. Negotiations have already been started with Moscow. There have also been political meetings with a number of leaders of the republics of Central Asia. The round of negotiations will culminate in September with the signing of treaties on economic cooperation for 1991, mainly with the RSFSR and Leningrad. The goal is to provide themselves, as much as possible, with the commodities which have been distributed centrally up to this point.

The second goal is to establish permanent political consultation and not allow the spreading of the image of the enemy, which our pro-imperial enemies are spreading about Estonia and which we must refute. The goal is to become integrated and to reach agreement on initial political positions, the attitude toward the Tartu peace treaty, and so forth.

It is necessary to solve problems of the status of the army and military service. In regard to the note from the Government of the Estonian Republic to the USSR Government regarding questions of the Army, negotiations will begin in Moscow on 8 August. Thus we have constructed an entire network of agreements and consultations which should ultimately clarify and strengthen our positions.

For several months we were making preparations for political and economic consultations among nine delegations, which were conducted recently in Toompea. I would like to emphasize the long term nature of this work in response to those opponents who tomorrow and the day after tomorrow will begin to interpret this in such a way that they can criticize the government for its lack of a policy with respect to the East and then the government rushed headlong to the east. Every sensible politician knows that such measures are preceded by a long period of preparatory work.

Interest in these consultations is reinforced also by the similarity of a number of political processes. When on 16 November 1988 here in this same hall we adopted the declaration of independence and when a day later we were called to Moscow, the people involved in this event recall how they lined all the other Union republics up against us and along with them tried to teach us how to live. I can imagine how this would look now that a number of republics, including large ones, have selected the path of sovereignty.

Three documents were signed on 5 August in Toompea. They have been published in the newspapers.

I want to mention a couple of basic principles of these documents.

First of all, the appeal to the heads of state to convene a conference on economic problems in Tallinn.

It says in this document that the movement toward a new state structure has many variants and an independent national state is mentioned as one of the variants. This means recognition of the fact that the future of some might involve the Union treaty, others—a federation, and still others—independence. The selection of the variant is a matter for the people themselves.

It is emphasized in the appeal that what occurred in Toompea is a first attempt to become free and to have a direct dialogue among partners with equal rights who are equally interested in getting their state or region out of the crisis.

It also contains the idea of changing over to principles of a common market, which is very important at this moment. The document also contains an agreement that in the near future there will be a conference of heads of state on economic issues. Preparations for it are already underway, even involving a number of regions that were not represented in Tallinn.

Baltic cooperation is closer now than ever before in this century and our ancestors would be proud of us for this. In the first half of the 20th century we did not succeed at this kind of cooperation but for quite specified reasons. I will give two examples. In the middle of the twenties there was the grand idea of a customs alliance of Estonia and Latvia according to which they were to become a single territory with respect to customs and to coordinate their economic interests as closely as possible. These negotiations were completed in 1926. At that time the USSR offered Latvia a trade agreement under extremely beneficial conditions if Latvia would reject the agreement with Estonia, which it did. The failure of the customs alliance cast doubt on the idea of a union of the Baltic states.

At the same time there was also a rapprochement between Estonia and Latvia. In 1925 the USSR information agency made an announcement in the world press (which was never confirmed) of a secret military conference between Estonia and Poland. This frightened Lithuania, which was carefully keeping track of Poland, and led it to conclude a treaty not with Estonia but with another partner.

These two examples are enough to show what they will do to make sure that Estonia enters into negotiations with the USSR without the other Baltic countries and who stands to gain from this. We are preserving the unity of the Baltic area and we are striving to make sure that our partners preserve it as well.

And since we have dipped into history it is appropriate also to discuss certain experience of the twenties and the later period when the Estonian Republic originated. Without this we will not be able to evaluate correctly the current situation or our chances of achieving independence. If you look in the materials of the foreign delegation of Estonia you will be surprised to note that for the foreign delegation the fight against the movement for succession was just as important as the struggle for independence in Estonia's policy at the time. And it was the local nobility that proclaimed that the only possible basis for the government of the Baltic provinces would be the points on capitulation signed in 1710 with which these areas separated from Russia and its tsar. Now there was no tsar, the points of capitulation were to be declared invalid, and on the basis of succession the power was to be turned over to the local nobility. They did not want to see how much the situation in the Baltic countries had changed since that time and our foreign delegation had to work to make the truth known. It is necessary to distinguish between two concepts: on the one hand, the "immemorial and inalienable rights" and on the other, "succession." The concept of "immemorial rights" is more general than "succession"; it gives greater political weight to our aspirations and provides possibilities of maneuvering. But succession is directed toward the past and is limited by what has been. But new phenomena and processes arise with time and the situation has changed.

The second thing dealt with by the foreign delegation from which we can glean experience was the disclosure of the additional agreement between Russia and Germany concluded on 27 August 1918 and the explanation of its essence. At that time this agreement could have been called a secret protocol since it was not published in Russia for eight years. In this additional agreement it was stated that because of their previous entry into Russia, Estonia and Livonia had no obligations with respect to Russia. Why did the Estonian delegation fight so hard against this secret protocol? Because Russia had actually given Germany the right to create a Baltic duchy on our territory. There is a serious lesson here. Our great neighbors, Russia and Germany, have always traded at the expense of the Baltic region, they have done this with varying success, but ultimately they have agreed.

Now about Integral as one of the most important disputed issues in our relations with the USSR. Lev Voronin's answer makes it possible to augment the analysis published recently in the newspapers from the standpoint of the government.

The main argument in L. Voronin's response, with which he justifies the Integral association, has to do with the difficulties of material and technical supply for Union enterprises located in Estonia and also interruptions in the supplies of food products and consumer goods and also difficulties in solving social problems. This is related to the legislative acts adopted in Estonia which contradict Union legislation. This prompted the Union enterprises to solve their own supply problems. But this argument is unconvincing since the economic imbalance and large interruptions in production and supply are now characteristic of all the USSR. This is a problem not only for Estonia and the Union enterprises located in it. On the contrary, the creation of the Integral association exacerbates the economic imbalance in Estonia. The association intends to take over some of the duties of the Supreme Soviet and the government of the Estonian Republic, for example, territorial development of Estonia in conjunction with republic and local organs. At the Union level Integral is considered to be extra territorial with respect to the Estonian Republic and it should have agreements on cooperation with the Supreme Soviet and the government. In addition to deepening the economic imbalance it can also give rise to strong social tension. Since the enterprises included in Integral will not transfer funds into the republic budget it will be impossible to make payments from the budget of the

Estonian Republic in the interests of its workers, to allot money for health, education, and social security, and so forth. This means that the Integral association must immediately develop a network of institutions for public health, education, physical culture, and so forth for its workers. Such a differentiation of people living in Estonia according to the branch principle will undoubtedly lead to extreme dissatisfaction on the part of Integral workers. Moreover, this will lead to an aggravation of the contradictions between the Russian and Estonian residents since it will be mainly Russian-speaking people who will be working at enterprises included in Integral.

I wish to emphasize once again that the letter concerning the creation of the Integral state interbranch association, which is purported to contain a response to the letter from the government of 20 July 1990, actually devotes no attention to any of the most important aspects and only tries once again to justify the creation of this association. Cases of violation of the instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR Law No. 1045r which are enumerated by Estonia are neither commented upon nor considered. Attention should be given to the fact that the letter in response from L. Voronin, No. B-8024, does not even contain a reference to the USSR Law on the economic independence of the three Baltic republics. One gets the impression that the USSR Council of Ministers does not consider itself obliged to obey this law and that it may act in whatever way it wishes. Instead of obeying USSR laws, the USSR Council of Ministers is guided, as is pointed out in L. Voronin's letter, by the opinion of the deputies of the local soviets and labor collectives.

The USSR general procurator must monitor the execution of the USSR laws by any government institution, including the highest ones. We have sufficient justification to appeal to the USSR general procurator to halt the implementation of the instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers No. 1045r of 2 July 1990, since it contradicts the USSR Law of 27 November 1989, and essentially annul them. As a normative document of the lowest category which contradicts the law, instructions No. 1045r of the USSR Council of Ministers should be declared legally invalid.

One must keep in mind that the Council of Ministers is violating USSR Law with its resolution of this issue. The references contained in L. Voronin's response to the fact that because of the constitutional crisis there are contradictions in the legislation of Estonia and the USSR has no effect on the matter whatsoever. It is quite understandable that the USSR does not like the fact that there are certain contradictions in the legislation of the USSR and Estonia, but there is no way for the USSR Government to justify such actions that contradict the laws of the USSR.

The USSR Government's decision to create Integral affects mainly those enterprises which, in keeping with the law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics, are subject to being placed under the republic's jurisdiction. This resolution and L. Voronin's response do not even contain a reference to their transfer and envision retaining Union jurisdiction for these enterprises. In this the USSR Council of Ministers is violating the law adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its responsibilities ensuing from this law. If follows simply from L. Voronin's response that this is not a random mistake in administrative practice and that the USSR Council of Ministers has deliberately entered on the path of denying the USSR laws. Consequently, there is sufficient justification for the USSR general procurator to abolish these instructions in a supervisory capacity.

The government of the Estonian Republic also draws attention to the fact that the law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics is not the only one violated by instructions No. 1045r. It says in the USSR Law on Enterprise of 4 June (Part 1, Article 3) that enterprises may join into unions or economic associations on a voluntary basis. In connection with this law it should be noted that:

a) the Integral association was created not on a voluntary basis but by the order mentioned above. All enterprises under Union jurisdiction are simply obligated to enter the association. It is voluntary only for enterprises that are not under Union jurisdiction. This violates in the "spirit of the good old days" the independence of state enterprises that is guaranteed by law;

b) the all-Union law on the enterprise establishes that they may enter economic associations. Integral is not an economic but a political-territorial association. Consequently this violates state sovereignty, including the all-Union acts by which it is declared.

I think that this entire affair concerning the creation of Integral is so important that in the near future it will be necessary to include on the agenda of the Supreme Soviet the adoption of a separate law which would precisely regulate partial and complete inclusion of various enterprises, including Union enterprises and those belonging to foreign citizens, in unions and associations of enterprises or the policy for creating any kinds of associations. The law could consist of just two points:

a) a strict ban on creating on the territory of the republic anything other than economic kinds of enterprises, associations, and companies, that is, a ban on creating political-territorial associations of enterprises and organizations; especially associations that try to replace territorial self-administrative organizations. This ban would be based on restriction of the economic enterprise as a corporate body to the performance of the tasks for which it was founded and which are registered in its charter. Economic enterprises have been created to perform certain economic tasks. Their charters do not permit them to engage in either political activity or functions of local self-administrative units, which would violate the rights of the local population who are not workers of these enterprises. Since the enterprises are neither political organs nor organs of local government, they may not delegate to their associations rights that are not properly theirs. If some labor collective wishes to achieve political goals, it must register as a political party. The performance of functions of local self-government is an inalienable general right of all residents living on the territory of the local self-government organization (city, uyezd, or volost);

b) the establishment of the procedure for creating any unions, associations, concerns, or other associations of enterprises (including Union ones and those belonging to foreign countries), if more than 500 people will be working in them after they are created or they embrace more than 30 percent of the corresponding market, can take place only with the agreement of the Government of Estonia. Thus all associations and other groups created after the adoption of the USSR Law of 27 November must submit documents for their organization and justifications for the consideration of the government of the Estonian Republic. All agreements for enterprises located on the territory of Estonia to enter into associations outside it are also subject to examination.

We should begin by declaring the instructions of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the creation of an association to be invalid. The finance minister has already issued an instruction to the effect that all enterprises must continue to transfer money into the republic budget. If the enterprises included in Integral are not subject to the decree of the Supreme Soviet it is necessary to return to this question.

Esteemed Comrades!

We are approaching a new period. The time of slogans, declarations, and public awakening is coming to an end and it will be replaced by painstaking work on laws, prices, negotiations, agreements, and diplomacy. Sooner or later each of us must recognize this. This is an immense amount of work. It must be done in order to restore the Estonian Republic in reality. Nothing can be restored by a simple declaration of the end of the transition period as is sometimes suggested. In the forefront of the Eastern policy now are state and economic negotiations with the central authorities of the USSR and the RSFSR and also with other regions.

The main goal of these negotiations is the recognition of our state independence, borders, and independent economy along with an acceptable agreement in the area of citizenship. We must conclude a large number of specific economic agreements with our partners. All agreements and treaties should be based on agreements of the Estonian Republic, especially the Tartu peace treaty. In certain cases, for example, with the Ukraine, we may extend old state treaties.

We must not place preliminary conditions on negotiations for independence, for example, the expressed recognition by the USSR that our country has been occupied. This would greatly retard the beginning of negotiations and, obviously, would make them impossible since neither the USSR Supreme Soviet nor the Congress of People's Deputies would allow this. Moreover, such a recognition would block our participation on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the European Parliament, and the United Nations.

Let us emphasize our strong and not our weak sides. And we shall be ready for de facto recognition of the Estonian Republic by other states. At the same time, in order not to lose this recognition de jure, we must not forget about restoring the Estonian Republic on the basis of its 1939 constitution. We must act in a way that is appropriate for a party and government of a real state. At the same time, during the course of negotiations we must not give in to the temptation to create a new union of states. The pressure on us to do this will undoubtedly increase during the next few months. The central question of the USSR will undoubtedly be the question of the Union treaty but the Union treaty will probably change in form and content as compared to the one we have in mind now. Obviously a specific viewpoint will be adopted that various regions of the USSR may be linked together in various ways. I believe that in the near future attempts will be made to move Estonia away from this course as well. Figuratively speaking, everything will begin with 20 liters of gasoline but there is no hope that it will end that way.

The basic content of the economic negotiations now includes Integral, the gasoline blockade, and control over the economic crisis. In order to achieve our goals we must now work both in the East and in the West, both on the basis of our laws and on the basis of the laws of the USSR and the international agreements of the USSR.

We must recognize that negotiations on the restoration of the independence of Estonia have been at a standstill up to this point. But this condition cannot continue for long. The Moscow leaders are looking for possibilities of renewing and strengthening the USSR. This means that they must also seek contacts with the Baltic countries.

Interest in these contacts is mutual. Moscow's interest is in keeping us in the USSR by any means; our interest is to preserve good-neighbor relations and have Moscow be the first to recognize our independence since this would determine the recognition by all the rest of the world. The interest is mutual. And therefore the appearance of conditions for negotiations on an equal basis, which we are trying to promote from our side, is inevitable.

Baltic Declaration Passed to Envoys, Gorbachev

LD0709223190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 7 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Lithuanian government representative in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas, yesterday delivered the Baltic states' declaration to the French and U.S. envoys, and also delivered it to be presented to President Mikhail Gorbachev. In an interview with Lithuanian

Radio, Egidijus Bickauskas stated that the French ambassador referred to the declaration assertions as very worthy of study. [passage omitted]

In receiving the Lithuanian representative, the U.S. ambassador gave his assurances that U.S. sympathies lie with the Baltics, and that their interests will not be violated. The meeting between Egidijus Bickauskas and the U.S. envoy lasted for nearly an hour. Other problems were also discussed.

The Baltic states' council declaration was also presented to President Mikhail Gorbachev, through his personal secretary. According to Egidijus Bickauskas, he could have waited in the hope of a personal meeting with the president, but this failed to materialize. It probably reached the president one day later.

According to the Lithuanian representative, the other two-plus-four embassies were presented the Baltic Council's declaration by the Latvian representative, Janis Peters. The reference obviously pertains to the East and West German embassies. [passage omitted]

RSFSR

7 Sep RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session Reported

LD0809210790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1740 GMT on 7 September carries a 67-minute report with recorded portions on the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Supreme Soviet work on 7 September in the Kremlin in Moscow. The morning session opened with Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov naming items that are of will be in short supply, such as tobacco, bread, vodka, and sugar. He invites Gennadiy Kulik to the rostrum. Kulik begins speaking by outlining the situation with this year's harvest and the measures taken by the government to encourage the farmers to bring in a good crop. He talks about the state of the harvester pool and other vehicles available.

An unidentified commentator then says Kulik spoke about other crops, but deputies were not satisfied and he was subjected to a number of critical questions. A deputy is shown asking whether the government is not trying to destabilize the situation. Kulik gives figures for beer and vodka production, as well as cigarette production. He says that the RSFSR is making the same number of cigarettes as it did last year. Another deputy asks about grain being held up in the northern Caucasus. Kulik responds by saying that it is necessary to get it moving by means of counter trade.

Deputies then begin making speeches about the report. Popov is among them, explaining the tobacco price policy and its success, and criticizing the Council of Ministers for its attitude. Popov says that if cigarette supplies are increased in Moscow, it will be by taking them from other towns, thus increasing traditional resentment toward Moscow. He concludes by saying: "The people know very well that the final source of all the crises—of soap, tobacco, and any other—stems from the Ryzhkov government's inability to create any sort of action program, or to solve one single problem of the development of the country. [applause]

"For this reason we consider that the only response to this sort of attempt to win popularity or whatever can only be a demand for the resignation of the Ryzhkov government. If the Russian legislature puts forward this demand, thousands and tens of thousands of Muscovites will go out to demonstrate not this Sunday but next and will demand that there should be a government in this country, one of the richest countries of the world, under which we will not have to go begging for things, and under which we shall be able to tackle our own affairs."

Silayev then summarizes the discussion in Kulik's reports: "I wish to confirm and support what Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov said in his speech about prices. He and I are indeed in repeated and, I might say, constant touch on the most important matters arising in Moscow." Silayev adds: "Somewhere on the second or third day of this exceedingly complicated situation, we agreed on measures. I have my agreement in principle for the introduction of this method relating to commercial prices, and I do not repudiate this now. By the same token, it seems to me that if the managers of other oblast and kray soviets and exective committees adopted the initiative and the principles of management and independent solutions—the multitude of things adopted by Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov and Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak—then I think that today some of the strains could be removed from the republican Supreme Soviet and, in turn, from the republican government."

Silayev continues: "I regard as quite correct the proposals made, among others by Comrade (Kamenev) and Comrade (Baburin), talking about roughly the same thing too. It seems to me that we have to grant much greater freedom of action to the oblast soviets and executive committees, and, correspondingly, to our autonomous administrative divisions, in deciding what proportion of compensation in kind should be introduced in their areas for those taking part in the harvesting. If they regard, on the spot, that the figure should be up to 70 percent, why should they not have this freedom? I think it does not behove us perhaps to set the figures here; even less should it be a decision of the Supreme Soviet. But our oblast and kray soviets as well as our autonomous administrative divisions should be granted the right to decide on the spot for themselves, without being restricted in this matter, for the sake of rescuing the harvest. That is the first point. And also because the people who will be taking part in the harvest will have this produce; they will not allow it to be lost. So, in this instance, I favor the granting of maximum scope to local bodies in this situation, and this scope should no doubt be correspondingly incorporated in the decision being adopted today.

"I agree with Comrade (Baburin) that we should not increase the meat procurement prices. This matter was put to us by oblast and kray leaders the day before yesterday, when we were examining the evolving situation with them. They presented this point. And in the expectation of an increase in procurement prices, the farms are holding back the slaughter and delivery of livestock, waiting for the right moment, so to speak. I would like to draw your attention to the section of the program for the transfer to the market which we have submitted for your consideration and discussion. This element features in it. It is a fundamental matter—not to play around with prices in an arbitrary way, let alone the way the State Committee on Prices has now urgently done, but to deal with this on the basis of different principles, which are enshrined here. I will say a couple of words about this at the end.

"But the mood of the villagers themselves is not unambiguous. So, by way of consultation, I gave Comrade Kulik my agreement to sketch out this matter, but, I repeat, the commission, and by the way, I consulted with them yesterday and asked them—Comrade Shatalin's commission, I mean—how they saw this. They said they viewed it as a departure from the principle of the program for the transfer to market relations. The main issue, comrades, which was raised here, attracting reproaches and complaints, including ones aimed at me personally—I have no intention of saying it is nothing to do with me. We are into our third month of work now, and we must in fact answer fully for the fulfillment or nonfulfillment of the functions placed upon us. But it seems to me that if we are going to look at these processes in isolation, as accidental processes which are merely the consequences of the government's disgraceful discharge of its functions—and that includes the government I lead—we will be ready to accept the following method of assessment: You should judge us; you appointed us; and you will decide our future. But I think that if one puts the quite justified emotions and outbursts of anger on one side and switches to an objective assessment and if one draws up an action program, it could amount to the following.

"The first thing is that we are in no state... [changes thought] We and you are prepared to make an all-out effort, and we will evidently be making this latest desperate—I would call it—all-out effort to save the situation. But if we are going to proceed on this basis, neither you nor we will have enough stamina for all the all-out efforts which are going to be required! So the question is a much deeper one: Should we adhere to these positions and remain with these economic management principles, or should we renounce them as decisively as we can and proceed in the direction of what we are now discussing: preparations for, and our approach to, market relations?"

Silayev continues: "I will allow myself to remind you that not a single state that we know of concerns itself with gas, spare parts, bread, or anything. In this regard, I fully support Gavriil Kharitonovich that the most important spheres working for people, including bakeries and bread shops and tobacco shops and so on, are subjects for privatization. These are things which should be handed over more boldly to ownership—whether you wish to call it private ownership, or whether you wish to call it family ownership or whatever you like.

"Until we move away from our normal approaches of having the government distribute every loaf around the rayons of a city with a population of 10 million, we will not be in any position to do anything serious. That is, I want to approach the problem in light of this flare-up and this acute situation from the necessity for discussing extremely actively—and I know that you are doing this—the program presented to you and speeding up its introduction. Its authors propose the start of the first 100 days from 1 October. Therefore, I would ask you in this regard to look more boldly at the sections, at the principles, and to support this program, and all the more so because we have the grounds to say that as yet we are not having any success in achieving very great progress in rapprochment of positions with the government program.

"Today Comrade Gorbachev will have an examination of the work of our united efforts in Arkhangelskoye under the leadership of Comrade Aganbegyan. But we will be resolutely inclined to defend this program. And so, if one speaks of the long-term strategy, it is this and only this. And we have directed our main efforts precisely at this part.

"As far as specific operational measures are concerned, today, well, if we say that Comrade Kulik, today, demonstrated the old guard, and if we say that we must adopt the program which we are introducing from 1 October, it will not come to our rescue, it will not save us, therefore in the—I will not say months but rather days—weeks, at most, that remain for the struggle to bring in the harvest, evidently we have to work, using the means and the arsenal of approaches and methods which we have available.

"When we were preparing for the struggle to bring in the harvest, we considered it our task to create the necessary conditions for the peasants and the local bodies, including for those who are represented here in the person of deputies who are leaders of oblasts and krays. We considered the main task to be to provide gas and diesel fuel. I am not afraid to say that we have resolved this task, although we incurred very serious unpleasantness from the part of our friendly Union republics whose interests we were obliged to harm to a certain extent. That was really so.

"We considered it our task to provide transport in the greatest possible quantity, and we did this work although, of course, not everything turned out as planned and not everyone implemented things to the fullest. This was not only because they did not want to, but because the situation arose, in Orenburg Oblast, for example. We wrote a directive to them to transfer about 2,000 vehicles to a different region, but a difficult climatic situation arose there and we altered our decision, or else this would have meant the ruin of a good harvest in Orenburg area. In other words, we considered in this situation our main tasks to be to give the necessary resources and the necessary means, including the ones I have spoken of, so that by working to, let us say, the limits of their powers and using them to the fullest, the bodies could do a large amount of work independently.

"The day before yesterday, we agreed with practically all the leaders of the oblasts, krays, and autonomous administrative divisions to work, as of today, on the new principles, to work with close cooperation between oblasts, and to help each other, and, where possible, to sell by commercial and contract prices, while actively communicating with each other within the republic and not for each oblast to operate via the center, as was the case previously.

"I consider that in this situation the proposals put forward by Comrade (Kamenev) and Comrade (Baburin) and others were very interesting. Unfortunately, today it is necessary to make use of the old approaches, the directive, and arbitrary approaches, to complete this work, to save the harvest to the greatest extent. But it is no less important to persistently and firmly move toward adopting the program of transferring to market relations. Thank you."

Two ministers are then confirmed, the announcer says. In the afternoon there is a meeting with entrepreneurs to discuss the transition to the market economy. Silayev as chairman talks about the Shatalin plan and the other ideas that have been put forward, as follows: "Thank you, comrades, for responding to our proposal to come here to discuss what is a most urgent, pressing, and complex problem, that of transferring our economy to market principles. I am assuming that you have all received the program as written by the authors. I can see comrades are holding it. Obviously this will be of assistance to you too in reaching a more profound understanding of the basic principles and approaches enshrined in the program. It is called Academician Shatalin's program, although some people call it the Gorbachev-Yeltsin program, or again if you look at the basics it is the 400- or 500-day program, and so on.

"I think we are dealing with leaders, economic managers, commanders, I would even say entrepreneurs, with those who will have to run whatever is adopted in the program. For this reason there is no doubt no point in beginning to explain and elucidate here. No doubt you have read the report by the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and picked up some of the elements there. It is now a decisive stage that is under way, shall we say?

"I simply want to brief you about the fact that a new mixed group is already at work, as instructed by the president, on the basis of the Administration of Affairs of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, at which, on the basis of the program for transition to the market, the Gorbachev-Yeltsin program and the alternatives set forth in the Union government's program, discussions are under way under the leadership of Academician Aganbegyan as to what might be compatible and what is not compatible. We can talk about the need for precisely such a prpogram as that formed by this group.

"At the same time we can naturally only rely on its basic principles being adopted if it has the backing of the population as a whole and if you and the collectives you represent give it your support. We have endeavored to provide fairly extensive representation of our republican economy here today and we are relying heavily upon your support, albeit not unconditional. Naturally we would like you, if not today, then tomorrow or the day after, once you have become familiar in greater detail with these materials, to give your opinions—doubts if you like, or whatever you think it necessary to say about this program. Whatever the case we shall be grateful to you even if you say that it is quite wrong and that you do not associate your activities with it.

These are, of course, the kind of time we live in, perhaps. For this reason we simply ask that you hold this discussion and, even without knowing, without having had time to have a look, that you state your position, opinions and ideas—there are a good many of these. Nonetheless we are relying on—and we should like this to be the case—we should like to have your ideas too by the time the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation embarks upon the final stage of work on this program, on its discussion and on adopting a decision, so that we shall have taken into account those places where we do agree and perhaps done some work with you on those in which we do not agree in order to prove that we are right and perhaps to agree with some of your ideas. According to the plan of the work of the session, the discussion is already fairly vigorously in progress in the committees and commissions. Even today—and to you too, I think, Comrade Yavlinskiy has spoken. Therefore it is anticipated that on the 10th or 12th—it all depends on how much work has been done on the materials that result from the discussions in the committees and commissions and with yourselves—the Supreme Soviet will assess its position and adopt an appropriate decision."

Silayev continues: "I should like to tell you about and draw your attention to such a matter of principle as economic union. You will see Section 3 in this material and, if you like, I might even ask you to look at this first of all, but that is up to you—the first section '100 days,' the period of stabilization is also very important; it is all important—but I should just like to say about this that the "Economic Union" section has been formed by the joint efforts of the Union republics. Only Estonia failed to take part. The other republics did take part, although Estonia is also in favor of economic union as we became aware when the Baltic leaders, the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the Baltic republics phoned yesterday. They had met, convened and expressed their own, fairly vigorous, support for this principle of economic union without waiting for the union treaty as a whole. And the authors of the republic's program have come to the conclusion that only economic union with specific conditions for being in it and a large degree of freedom is capable of preserving the union, something that you and I all want very much and we are working towards this. The declaration of the russian federation proclaimed this too—not just preserving it but developing and strengthening it according to new principles of economic relations.

"We believe that this is the only possibility of averting negative processes that would lead, among other things, to the destruction of the Union. For this reason, after discussing and determining the attitude of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation on this program we are turning to our partners in the other republics asking them to do the same, and this work is under way. True, they officially have no material and no doubt either today or tomorrow a decision will be made to forward this, too, but since they have all worked on and agreed the text of this third section, we have no doubt that they will support it.

"Moreover, you might pay attention to the rather wide-ranging nature of the section which contrasts with the fairly specific construction of the others, since it is the result of compromise and searching basically for a consensus. For this reason, certain points are reflected here which take into account the interests of this or that republic, and we think this has been a success and anticipate a positive reaction from the Supreme Soviets of the other Union republics that have agreed to sign it at the level of the working bodies and let us hope that the Supreme Soviets will do likewise. If we assume that this will happen, and I repeat that we are replying on this, there is a great likelihood of the program's being adopted as a whole, for it is a Union program, after all. Its meaning is a Union one even though it has been constructed according to the principles of a Russian program.

"I should like to say who is represented here today, although many of you actually know each other. We have around 700—indeed more than 700—leaders of enterprises, industry, construction, transport, communications and other areas of activity. Among them are about 80 USSR people's deputies. I apologize for saying about 80, but we have not been able to count them exactly. I have just looked through the invitations. There are more than 100 RSFSR people's deputies, leaders of major associations, state enterprises, ministries and departments, enterprises from the nonstate sector of the economy, a number of oblast and town soviets of people's deputies and their executive bodies. A considerable number of the leaders have been invited by the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Among those taking part in the meeting are representatives of almost all the krays, oblasts and autonomous republics. They represent more than 200 towns."

After this, the announcer says Yavlinskiy, Filshin, and Kisin, the authors of the plan, spoke about the report. Debates begin. An unidentified deputy speaks against the thoughtless transfer to the market system from the capitalist world: What is needed is to correct mistakes. He thinks the program is divorced from reality. He says workers in the west are afraid of losing highly paid jobs. The country needs good producers, not good businessmen. He favors enterprises working autonomously.

Another unidentified speaker talks about a vote of confidence in the government and the question of bread. He says no group in the country supports the market system. They are not talking about a market, but about a bazaar. The supporters of it are those who are most protected, the intelligentsia, he says in conclusion.

The president of the association of state enterprises then speaks, justifying warnings that his organization made long ago, which were ignored, for example that food items should not be touched at first. He says the government took no notice, and this in turn led to a run on the shops. He talks about stock exchanges and about the work force, supporting the trade unions on this. He says there is a need to know the opinion of the regions. In a number of regions there has been a vacuum as the party has given up its authority and the soviet has not taken over. The market is the only way to motivate work, he agrees, but there is a need to work carefully toward it. The entrepreneurs must be listened to.

The announcer concludes by saying, "The outcome of the production meeting was an appeal by the participants to the leaders of the enterprises of the republic."

Deputies Discuss Shortages

PM1009134790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by TASS parliamentary correspondents T. Ivanova and Yu. Soltys: "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session: Our Daily Bread"]

[Text] The agenda of the 7 September session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet had to be changed because of bread. The discussion of measures related to the 1990 harvest and the stabilization of the Russian food market was raised at the joint sitting of the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities.

G.V. Kulik, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and RSFSR minister of agriculture and food, reported on how harvest progress, how the flour and sugar situation is shaping up, and how the vegetable complex is working. He called for rigorous monitoring of delivery discipline and the observance of contract commitments.

Draft resolutions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and Russian government on additional measures to complete the 1990 harvest and stabilize the food market were presented for deputies' scrutiny. These drafts envisage the supply of all types of material and technical supplies to the republic's agro-industrial complex ahead of schedule, a differentiated approach to state purchase prices based on regions, and other innovations.

Many deputies, however, were not satisfied by either G.V. Kulik's speech or the documents presented. They noted that they lacked a specific and effective action program and demanded that ministerial and departmental leaders be held personally responsible for mistakes made, that clear justifications be given for decisions made, and that account be taken not only of the present situation but also the long-term outlook. As a result, it was decided that the draft resolutions should be reexamined after further work has been done on them.

"Bread" and "tobacco"—these words are being heard increasingly often in the Russian parliament. The speech by G.Kh. Popov, chairman of Moscow City Soviet, who had been invited to attend the session, touched on these problems. He stressed that the "bread crisis" is similar to the problems that have occurred over tobacco and detergents. And they require similar measures. He described what is being done in the capital to normalize the bread situation.

The tobacco problem, which has led to picketing on the streets and strikes, is no less acute. Meanwhile, several million rubles have been made on the black market out of the tobacco shortage. With the introduction of coupons it was planned to divert part of the income from commercial prices for tobacco products into the modernization of the tobacco sector. In addition, the Moscow City Soviet wanted to create a fund to provide an addition to pensions and allowances for people on low incomes, large families, and the disabled as early as November. The Moscow City Soviet chairman reported that the USSR State Committee on Prices had adopted a decision the day before to ban trade in cigarettes at commercial prices. The Moscow City Soviet refuses to accept this decision. In its opinion, the decision merely plays into the hands of black-marketeers. The question of introducing commercial prices for tobacco products was agreed with the Russian Council of Ministers and the USSR president has been informed about it. G.Kh. Popov viewed the USSR State Committee for Prices' decision as a violation of Russia's sovereignty. He noted that this department had not taken any such step with regard to raising prices for tobacco products in the Baltic region.

Summing up the results of the discussion on the stabilization of the food market, I.S. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, said that the situation requires extraordinary solutions. People have grown tired of these "fits and starts." But if we continue to adhere to present economic management principles, such "emergency measures" will go on. The solution of the problem is to be found in the main document—the concept of the transfer to the market. He called for effective work in the discussion and adoption of the program.

Then delegates began discussing nominations for the "vacant seats" on the Russian Council of Ministers. I.S. Silayev recalled that the first session appointed only 16 leaders of ministries and departments. Meanwhile, there are 31 government posts. Furthermore, the decision has been made to upgrade the RSFSR Council of Ministers Committee for dealing with the aftereffects of the Chernobyl disaster by placing it under state committee status under the RSFSR Council of Ministers. The government therefore has acquired another "portfolio."

The session confirmed the appointment of Yu.B. Skokov as first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. USSR Artist Yu.M. Solomin was appointed the republic's Minister of Culture.

During the afternoon there were sittings of committees and commissions. There was also a meeting between members of the Russian Supreme Soviet and government with economic leaders on questions of the transition to market relations.

The session continues its work.

10 Sep RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session Reported

LD1009190190

Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1740 GMT on 10 September carries a 38-minute recorded report on the 10 September session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin, Moscow.

A reporter says that the chambers of the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities met separately today. The concept of a program for transition to market economy was discussed. A deputy from Tataria asks Yavlinskiy, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, on his model for the transition to a regulated market economy. An answer in general terms follows, including a short argument about the terms "capitalism and socialism" and their correlation.

At 1746 GMT an unidentified man from Democratic Russia, interviewed in the hall gives his view of the economic program. He says that many deputies are against a market economy because it will make them redundant as representatives of the administrative-command system. The agrarian group is the weakest link because those deputies are from rural areas and are committed to the state and collective farms. He thinks, however, that the new program will be adopted.

At 1752 GMT the morning meeting of the Soviet of the Republic is shown. Mikhailov, member of the working group for developing a draft economic program, presents the program. A discussion follows. An unidentified deputy says the program will change the social system in Russia. Prices are bound to go up. The program envisages shock therapy of the Polish type, for which popular support is vital. But to secure the program, he says Ryzhkov's government must resign. A consensus of all radical forces is of paramount importance. Economic and political sabotage cannot be ruled out as the source of today's shortages, as well as future shortages. He also says that social security for those troops to be withdrawn from East Europe should be provided. The deputy adds that Gorbachev must make his position and allegiances clearer.

At 1803 GMT the afternoon session is shown. Filshin, one of the authors of the program, speaks. He describes the process of delimitation of functions which is to be followed, and a timetable for it. All efforts will be focused on the consumer market. A mechanism for competition should be set up before price controls are gradually abolished.

At 1813 GMT Deputy Ryabov asks Filshin how Russia is going to fulfill Ryzhkov's fairly unsubstantiated economic promises. Filshin says Russia will proceed from its budget, not from Ryzhkov's declarations. He clarifies some moves to provide social benefits for the low-paid.

At 1817 GMT, discussion is shown continuing at the evening session.

The relay ends at 1818 GMT.

Yeltsin Outlines RSFSR Supreme Soviet Agenda

AU1009140890 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 8 Sep 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, by Feliks Alekseyev, "especially for OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK"; place and date not given: "I Do Not Intend To Establish A New Party"]

[Text] The second session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has opened in Moscow. After the session's first day, Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, was interviewed by Feliks Alekseyev especially for OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK.

[Alekseyev] How do you assess the prospects of the session's work?

[Yeltsin] The session will probably continue for more than two months. Its agenda includes 65 items.

The main issue on the agenda is the discussion of the program on stabilizing the economy and the transition toward market relations. I would like to point out that we are discussing the program from an all-Union point of view, rather than the Russian Republic program prepared by Academician Stanislav Shatalin.

The program is interesting and naturally it differs significantly from the one proposed by the Union government. If the RSFSR Supreme Soviet adopts this program, naturally, with some modifications, I, as chairman, would like to obtain the agreement of the parliament to sign an economic treaty with the republics. This agreement should open the road to implementing the program.

Such a treaty is also important because it will facilitate a system of mutual relations which could unite the republics. I do not think that the Union treaty will be signed very soon. Too many problems emerge and the draft treaties, proposed by the republics, sharply differ in their contents.

As far as the economic treaty is concerned, all republics, even the Baltic ones, agree with it. Well, with the exception of Estonia. If 14 republics and President Mikhail Gorbachev sign the economic treaty, this will produce a powerful impetus in quickly implementing the "500 Days" Program. We would like the work on this program to begin after the Supreme Councils of all republics adopt appropriate decisions—i.e., by 1 October.

[Alekseyev] You stated that you will remain above party bias in the Supreme Soviet. Will you firmly maintain this position?

[Yeltsin] This is the reason I declared at the 28th CPSU Congress that I would leave the CPSU. Probably there are people who think that I left the CPSU in order to form a new party. No, by no means. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet must not be a member of any party. He does not have the right to implement the decisions of any party or defend the interests of any single group. This must be eliminated. I must work for the interests of all Russia.

[Alekseyev] Recently you returned from your tour and saw the situation in the republic. You sensed the growing tension. Are all people convinced that the "500 Days" Program can be implemented?

[Yeltsin] The tour lasted 22 days. I visited 27 cities and more than 300,000 people took part in the meetings. I must say that I returned rather concerned. The situation in the republic really is very grave. The further away one gets from Moscow the worse the situation is.

Today the RSFSR citizens believe the new republican leadership. Much support was expressed during the meetings. This not only imposes great responsibility, but it also evokes a sense of alarm—500 days are not such a long time to implement the economic stabilization program and to begin to improve the Russian people's standard of living.

Yeltsin Resists Push for Ryzhkov's Resignation

LD1109103190 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 11 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents]

[Text] Moscow September 11 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin today urged Russian parliamentary deputies to resist the temptation to demand the resignation of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

He made the plea after several deputies in the Russian parliament suggested expressing mistrust in the national government and demanding its resignation.

Yeltsin linked trust in the government with the Soviet Parliament's adoption of a reform plan drawn up by an expert group under Academician Stanislav Shatalin, which he called "a new federal programme."

The plan is now being debated in the Russian parliament.

Yeltsin Advocates Minimum Economic Standards

PM0709162790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On a Constructive Basis"]

[Text] On 6 September there was a meeting between B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, and I.Ye. Klochkov, chairman of the republican Federation of Independent Trade Unions. There was a constructive discussion of questions of organizing equal, businesslike cooperation between Russian trade unions and the parliament in the joint quest for ways of solving the very acute socioeconomic problems working people are encountering.

I.Ye. Klochkov provided detailed information on the preparations for the final stage of the RSFSR Trade Unions Founding Congress, which will complete the formation of a fundamentally new type of Russian trade union association. He announced that RSFSR Federation of Independent Trade Unions had elaborated for presentation at the republican Supreme Soviet session specific proposals on a package of legislative acts to protect working people's interests. They include a draft law on legal guarantees for trade unions' activities in the republic and a Declaration on Working People's Rights in the RSFSR.

B.N. Yeltsin stressed the need to build relations between the renascent independent trade unions and new organs of soviet power on the sound basis of treaties and agreements, at all levels, in fact, from enterprise to trade union centers, with the sides having mutual responsibility. I am in favor, the Supreme Soviet chairman stressed, of these agreements' becoming a material guarantee for Russian working people of the well-being of every working family in the future market economic conditions. To this end it is necessary to jointly establish for all regions of the republic a minimum wage, a minimum living standard, and measures to index the incomes of all strata of the population.

Agriculture Minister Discusses Price Incentives

LD1009164990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Two days ago, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet examined the course of the harvest and the stabilization of the food market. The Council of Ministers of Russia was entrusted with adopting additional measures to ensure that the harvest is gathered without losses and that the situation is stabilized. What are these measures? Let me ask this question of Gennadiy Vasiliyevich Kulik, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia and minister of agriculture and food.

[Kulik] First, a decision has been adopted to provide the maximum incentive for people gathering the harvest through payment in kind. Thus permission has been given for up to 50 percent of the harvest to be spent for these purposes; I stress, up to 50 percent. Let me say that people are eagerly agreeing to this form of payment for work.

Second, restrictions on procurement and purchase prices for fruit and vegetables have been lifted. Previously they were determined from the Center, but now this right has been transferred to the local soviets of oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics. Third, a difficult situation is developing with the production of sugar.

[Announcer] And with consumption.

[Kulik] And with consumption, of course. In order to put this situation right, it has been deemed expedient that first, those farms which sell their sugar beet before 20 September will be paid an additional 30 percent on top of the ordinary price. They have an interest in ensuring that they sell their produce during this period. In order to interest enterprise collectives in refining the raw material, it has been decided that 50 percent of sugar produced above last year's level—I stress not above the plan, but above last year's level—will remain at the disposal of the collective.

Today, I appeal to the heads of enterprises, the directors of state farms, and chairmen of collective farms to make use of these measures, to refine as much sugar as possible in September, and in this way we will cut losses and add to our sugar market.

[Announcer] Gennadiy Vasiliyevich, what is the meat situation like?

[Kulik] In order to take in hand the state of affairs here also, the Council of Ministers has adopted a decision that the new procurement prices which, in accordance with a decision of the Union government, were to have been introduced from 1 January 1991, are to be introduced from 15 September of the current year.

[Announcer] But only procurement prices?

[Kulik] Only procurement prices. This is a case of procurement prices for collective and state farms, and these prices have no connection whatsoever with retail prices.

Finally, I would like to appeal to the heads of enterprises to make fuller use of all these rights, and to know that today, arbitration and other bodies are there to defend the interests of producers, and in cases where these interests are violated, there is now a legally-established procedure for recovering losses incurred. We reckon that these measures that have been adopted will enable the harvest to be gathered in more rapidly, and to be preserved.

[Announcer] Thank you for the interview.

Russian Parliament Endorses New Cabinet Members

LD0709161590 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov, Yuriy Kozmin, and Pavel Ostrov]

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—"Ask me something—I sat up the whole night to prepare for this," candidate for culture minister Yuriy Solomin, a people's artist of the USSR, asked deputies to the Russian parliament.

Parliament voted him into the post by a majority after just one question.

The new minister is 55 years old. Since 1957, he has been with Moscow's Maliy Theatre Company, first as an actor and since 1988 as its artistic director. Solomin is also a popular film star.

He is the second Soviet ex-actor minister. Nikolay Gubenko, one-time actor and director with the Taganka Theatre Company, has headed the National Culture Ministry since 1989.

"I want my first deputy to be a man I can be sure of," Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev told parliament when he nominated Yuriy Skokov for the post. Silayev said Skokov was "a progressively-minded, independent man." He is to be Silayev's right-hand man in managing cabinet affairs.

Skokov told deputies he had refused Ivan Polozkov's recent proposal to occupy a post in the apparat of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee.

Skokov is a radio engineer by education and has a degree in technical sciences. He has extensive experience as a researcher and director in various institutes, including in those connected with the defence industry. He is 52.

The Russian parliament began forming its cabinet at its first session last summer, endorsing 16 of 31 cabinet members. The process will be finalised during the current session.

Russian Government, Parties Set To Meet 21 Sep

LD1009133790 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] There will be a roundtable discussion in Moscow on the 21st of this month at the initiative of the leadership of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Taking part will be representatives of three of the biggest non-communist parties and of the government of this biggest Soviet republic. The coalition includes the Democratic Party of Russia, the Democratic Platform of the Russian Federation, and the Social Democratic Party of Russia. Earlier the leaders of those parties expressed the intention to support the government of the Russian Federation seeking the replacement of Nikolay Ryzhkov's cabinet with a coalition government of pupular confidence.

6 Sep RSFSR Party Congress Session Reported

Accounting Records Approved

PM0709162390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report" on RSFSR Communist Party Congress proceedings on 6 September]

[Text] The second stage of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party Founding Congress continued its work on 6 September 1990 in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

The morning session was chaired by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yu.A. Manayenkov.

The delegates listened to a report by Accounting Commission Chairman I.P. Vorobyev on the results of the elections to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission. The congress approved the Accounting Commission's records and the composition of the RSFSR Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

I.K. Polozkov stated his principled stance on the recent campaign of tendentious attacks on the RSFSR Communist Party and Central Committee first secretary.

The debate on the main report then resumed at the congress. The session was addressed by M.V. Popov, Leningrad University professor, for the Initiative Congress of Russian Communists; V.S. Lipitskiy, sector chief at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, for the reformist communists of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU; Yu.N. Yegorov, design group chief at the "Skorost" plant in Moscow, for the Marxist Platform in the CPSU; A.V. Zolotov, assistant professor at Gorkiy State University, for the organizing committee of the "Communist Initiative" youth movement; I.P. Osadchiy, department head at Kuban State University and leader of the Russian Party Conference preparatory committee; V.S. Zaytsev, deputy secretary of the "Apatit" Production Association party committee, Murmansk Oblast; V.M. Kalyasin, first secretary of Velikiy Ustyug CPSU City Committee, Vologda Oblast; V.V. Parfenov, director of Bugulminskiy secondary school No. 6, Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic; A.V. Kalinin, writer, Rostov Oblast; and V.Ye. Ostrozhinskiy, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

At the end of the debate I.K. Polozkov answered questions.

The congress adopted a resolution approving the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and ratified the Statute on a Referendum in the RSFSR Communist Party.

At this point the congress ended its work.

Stolyarov Cited on Congress

PM1009105390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by TASS correspondent S. Zharkov: "The Russian Communist Party Looked at From Inside"]

[Text] The Communist Party has immense untapped intellectual potential. This viewpoint, expressed at a press conference for representatives of the new leadership of the Russian Communist Party [RCP] and congress delegates on the evening of 6 September, was confirmed during this meeting with journalists.

All three participants—N.S. Stolyarov, chairman of the Central Control Commission; Yu.P. Belov, member of the RCP Central Committee and secretary of Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee; and G.I. Sklyar, first secretary of Obninsk CPSU City Committee—said that their election to the congress and promotion to leading organs was a sign of the times. It has to be said that they all have a common feature: They all talk in a lively and intelligent manner, are highly articulate, and think clearly and logically, with the cliches absent.

Admittedly this is unusual. This makes one agree with what was stressed at the press conference: The party is finding the breakthrough to its future a laborious affair, because its legs are still chained to the past.

Commenting on the outcome of the forum, N.S. Stolyarov said that one of the most important results was the fact that the party had not split. He advocated close cooperation between the RCP and republic and Union organs of power, while stressing that a specific action program has still to be elaborated. At the same time he said that "we have arrived at the need to establish a partially authoritarian regime. The leader has to be given sufficient powers to be able to conduct economic reforms."

It was stressed at the press conference that in present conditions the party must obtain its own resources through enterprise. The new thinking is making headway in these areas too. The Central Control Commission leader also expressed the view that the classic exponents of Marxism-Leninism must forfeit the "presumption of absolute rightness."

Discussion of Program Assessed

PM1009121990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondents N. Andreyev and V. Vyzhutovich: "At the RSFSR Communist Party Congress: I. Polozkov: 'I Will Consider Attacks by Ideological Adversaries Praise'"]

[Text] As we predicted in our previous report on the work of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress, Colonel N. Stolyarov has been elected chairman of the Control Commission. He was way ahead of the other two contenders: Neither the experienced party functionary N. Malkov nor worker V. Vayguzh managed to put up serious competition to the 43-year-old lecturer at the Gagarin Air Force Academy.

The course of the constituent congress has been pretty monotonous. After the election of the Control Commission chairman, discussion of the action program continued. But, strange though it may seem, speakers spoke very little about the program proper: Discussion was about food, harvesting, the market, spares, the position of teachers, supplies of consumer goods to the countryside, highway surfacing... It goes without saying that any of these and a host of other problems are topical, and congress delegates are naturally entitled to talk about them from the rostrum. However, they will not at the same time accept concrete proposals to overcome the crisis. One speaker, brandishing an issue of IZVESTIYA which carried an article explaining the essence of the program for switching the country to a market economy and stabilizing the national economy, more or less urged them to defend in depth.

Delegates have been unable as yet to solve their main current problem: What the Communist Party of the country's largest Union republic should in fact be like. What the specific nature of its activity is. And why ultimately the party is being established.

What is happening, after all? We hear endless talk about the "specificity" of the new party. Consequently, its program should more precisely and clearly delineate the ideological concept, economic platform, and political principles inherent in it and it alone. And its creators have tried to formulate this in the draft action program. But here, however, in some areas it runs counter to the 28th CPSU Congress Program Statement, to which Delegate O. Latsis drew attention. True, P. Zhilin, delegate from Rostov Oblast, observed that there are only "stylistic differences," but they can be removed and then there will be no contradictions. But in that case there is no need for their own program: They could take the 28th CPSU Congress documents and operate according to them. However, it appears there would then be no difference between the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party. It is difficult to say how delegates will extricate themselves from this contradictory situation. But now under the approved agenda the last sessions of the congress are taking place.

Meanwhile some delegates who consider that the congress is adopting conservative sociopolitical stances intend to separate themselves from the RSFSR Communist Party and create, as A. Godunov, representative of the Leningrad party organization, put it, a Russian Communist Party on the CPSU Platform.

At the 6 September morning sitting I. Vorobyev, chairman of the tellers' commission, announced the results of the secret ballot for elections to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission. There were 125 people elected to the Central Committee. Including the Communists elected at the first stage of the congress, it now numbers 272 people. There were 96 Communists elected to the Central Control Commission.

I. Polozkov, first secretary of the Central Committee, then took the floor. The social atmosphere surrounding the RSFSR Communist Party and me personally, he said, makes it necessary to give a precise, clear, but calm and well-considered evaluation. I am not panicking as a result of the campaign mounted in certain organs of the mass media and I advise you not to do so either. Although some people do think that this campaign far exceeds the propaganda campaigns organized during the time of stagnation in terms of its power and coordination. I. Polozkov also stated that he could ask for a vote of confidence, but saw no need: "I have resolved not to succumb to the pressure of destructive forces. I was elected by you and will discharge Russian Communists' will." Ivan Kuzmich assured delegates that he advocates perestroyka and has given no one grounds to doubt this. "I will consider attacks from ideological adversaries as praise and have not and do not bear grudges for criticism from my party comrades"—with these words the first secretary concluded his speech, which was frequently interrupted by applause.

Delegates then continued discussion of the action program. After its adoption, as intended, the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress will conclude its work.

Polozkov Cited on Results of Party Congress

PM1009114390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Press Conference in Moscow"]

[Text] Prospects for the development of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party were discussed at a press conference at the CPSU Central Committee press center 7 September. I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee, and secretaries of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee told journalists about the results of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee organizational plenum.

The plenum elected a Politburo of 18 people, including representatives of various organizations and regions. In I.K. Polozkov's words, all the Politburo members are united in their opinions on questions of Russia's sovereignty, the democratization of the processes taking place, and the renewal of the party. The main task facing the republic's Communists today, he stressed, is to stabilize the situation and help people to have faith in the future. Communists cannot stand aloof from the economic, social, and other problems troubling society. They must be closer to people and their concerns and problems.

The participants in the press conference answered journalists' questions.

Prokofyev Discusses Congress at News Conference

LD1009145990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] There has been a routine meeting between Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow party committee and soviet, and foreign journalists in Moscow.

Giving his ideas about the results of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Constituent Congress, the leader of the capital's Communists stressed this forum had done the necessary work to complete the organizational shaping of the republican party. Comrade Prokofyev stressed he was not completely satisfied with the results of the Russian party congress. The haste with which it was held did not enable it to adopt a policy document.

The criticism voiced at the congress of the Moscow delegates was basically subjective in his opinion, but the reproach of passivity in preparing the documents of the forum should be taken into account for the future.

The main task today is for Communists to work out a social and economic program the first secretary of the Moscow town party committee stressed. Without one, one cannot count on having prestige among the masses.

It was reported at the meeting that since the beginning of the year about 60,000 Communists had left the city party organization for various reasons. Some 8,000 people had joined the CPSU, most of those joining were young people.

Burlatskiy Critiques RSFSR Party Program

90UN2766A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 36, 5 Sep 90 pp 1-3

[Article by F. Burlatskiy: "Toward a Modern Civilization"]

[Text] There are two opposite opinions about what is happening with our country. Some people are saying disintegration, others, renewal. I do not wish to believe the first. I find it difficult to believe the second.

But most recently I have begun to catch myself in a strange feeling: some kind of incipient, as yet unsteady, but maturing optimism. It has begun to seem to me that, despite the visible chaos, the decline in production, the growing shortages and national conflicts, despite the intractability of the center and the immoderateness of the republics, despite all the other trials, somewhere up ahead a ray of hope has begun to glimmer and the signs of social concord have emerged. Like when one sees a stream roar into a mountain river, the stones are churned up and spray is scattered about, but further on, around the bend, a more tranquil backwater is seen.

Such a bend was the agreement between Gorbachev and Yeltsin on the preparation of a joint program of transition to the market. This is to be followed by the joint work of all the republics and the center on a "Union treaty." But I have now familiarized myself with the draft "Communist Party of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Action Program," which has been prepared for the second stage of the constituent congress, and my timid optimism has begun to fade. What nostalgia for the past! What fear of the future! What poverty of thought! Serious misgivings arise that a second front of the struggle against the platform agreed at the 28th congress, against Gorbachev's policy, is being opened.

Right from the start, in the first sentence of the "Action Program...," there is talk of the "formation" of the Communist Party of the RSFSR. Formation.... At the end of the document it is explained that "Communists of the Russian Federation regard the creation of their own party not as a mechanical act of the merger of the republic's party organizations but as the emergence of a new political force."

Well, the position is put clearly enough. It is question of a new organization. a new political force. From which a no less clear conclusion ineluctably follows. Every organization, a party all the more, is joined voluntarily. Consequently, it is anticipated that, following approval of these documents at the forthcoming congress, every one of the multimillion-strong army of communists residing on the territory of the republic will have to make a choice—to apply or not to apply to be admitted to an organization. This is right. A new political force should unite only the like-minded. And people who disagree with its program or rules may remain with the "old political force," that is, the CPSU, or quit the party altogether.

One has to believe that the party organizations also will have the right of choice. This organization or the other cannot, in fact, be forcibly enrolled in a "new political force." Besides, there are organizations of all-Union significance like, for example, the USSR Academy of Sciences, Union artistic associations, Union press organs, and so forth, for which such a choice is particularly important.

However, in speaking of the "Action Program..." I would like to forgo the temptation to reject it out of hand on political grounds. Yes, the staff of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, myself included, has already declared its attitude toward the constituent congress. Nonetheless, the "Action Program..." merits attention. It would be wrong to think that it reflects the opinion of just some part of the party apparatus. It in fact expresses the prejudices and apprehensions of quite broad strata—both within and outside of the CPSU. This is a phenomenon of the general and, particularly, political culture which has been bequeathed us from former eras, from the Stalin era primarily.

I am frequently asked in the West: What is the people's attitude toward perestroyka, the parliamentary system, the market? I usually reply: There are no serious public opinion studies, particularly in the heart of the country. But it is my impression that things appear approximately as follows: One-third of society, primarily the youth, is avid for change and is prepared to work better for higher compensation backed by commodities. Another third, which includes primarily declasse elements, takes resolute exception to the coming changes. It is afraid of losing what it has and is particularly annoyed that some people will forge ahead and live better. And one-third is adopting a wait-and-see posture. The "Action Program..." is aimed precisely at uniting these last two thirds. This is where its danger lies. Social envy, which was the basis of the carnage in the period of the revolution and collectivization and in the persecution of enemies of the people and dissidents—this is, alas, an easily excited bacterium of our social consciousness. And this being the case, what is needed is a polemic aimed not simply at stigmatizing backward, archaic views but at convincing and reconvincing waverers. And we ourselves need to know where we are headed. I shall in this connection touch on a number of matters of principle connected with an analysis of the "Action Program..." and going beyond its framework.

I am disturbed most by the fact that attempts are once again being made to impose ideological discussion on society. The "Action Program..." returns us to the "communist perspective." Together with this arguments are constantly underway concerning the socialist idea. And, finally, the ideology of nationalism, which has been moving increasingly to the forward boundaries of late. However, experience has already shown sufficiently that none of these ideologies can unite our society today or be the basis of practical solutions of life's problems—food and housing, the problems of saturation of the market with consumer goods, health care, the environment, and so forth.

The communist idea—there is no denying it—is a beautiful and beguiling dream of the creation of an abundant society without classes, without nations, without the state, without money, without an army, and without criminals—a society of pure, equal, and saintly people. But how can it be forgotten that each time attempts have been made to realize this dream in practice, society has sunk into a deep abyss! The "war communism" of the 1920's. The collectivization of the 1930's. Communist building of the 1950's and 1960's.... This is just us. But, in addition, there was the "cultural revolution" in China, the Pol Pot regime, and much more. The cult of a leader, total control over the individual, state terror—thus has the dream turned out in real life. Is it not time to recognize this obvious fact! History has postponed the dream of the communist paradise centuries or millennia even into the future, just as it has the Christian dream of universal brotherhood or the Muslim dream of universal peace and prosperity. And incorporating the "communist perspective" in the "Action Program..." is an empty and harmful utopia.

The socialist idea also should be weighed in the balance of practical experience. I confess that I am greatly amused by the polemic between "left" and "right" over whether socialism has been built in our country or not. It is amusing if only because I recall the debate on this topic in the 1950's. True, at that time the dogmatist Molotov proved that socialism had not at that time been built in our country, and the reformer Khrushchev maintained the opposite and insisted on the comprehensive building of communism. But surely it is understandable that what was "built" in our country for 70 years was socialism—history knows of no other socialism. There were in addition, it is true, the East European, milder, and the Asian, stricter, versions, but of that same socialism of "ours." It may be called administrative-command or feudal. I preferred the concept of state socialism, believing, without giving it a second thought, that I was coining a new term. But I subsequently discovered that Bukharin even defended himself against charges against our system of state socialism and that a polemic over this question had arisen in Engels' time even. "If a state tobacco monopoly is socialism," Engels wrote, not without humor, "Napoleon and Metternich should undoubtedly be put among the founders of socialism." And in our time such founders were in practice Stalin and Mao Zedong....

At the foundation of this socialism, which actually existed, were three main principles. State ownership of the means of production. The leadership of the Communist Party. State Marxist-Leninist ideology. The "Action Program...," despite certain reservations, essentially attempts to reanimate these principles. It demands the preservation of the "leading position in the economic structure of socialism in renewal and state ownership of the means of production;" it promises to struggle for "the extensive representation of the communists in the soviets," and even puts forward on its own behalf a whole package of legislative initiatives; it maintains that it will "champion and realize socialist ideas and orient itself toward the communist perspective." But experience has already shown sufficiently that state socialism is historically doomed. And not only on account of the crimes that have been perpetrated but also on account of manifest inefficiency. It has hopelessly lost the competition with other contemporary systems. And it was not fortuitous that it collapsed in a few months in the majority of countries of East Europe and is in a state of profound crisis in other countries.

But we are told: That was a false socialist idea, there is a true one. Where! In books, in articles, in the dreaming of great or ordinary people. We are being invited to waste a further 50-70 years to check out true socialism. People are joking in this connection: Could we not this time try out the splendid idea someplace else and then—in accordance with the outcome—bring it back to our society? And is it any accident that no one can yet determine what is meant by the new model of socialism and in what way it would differ from the systems which exist in the world currently?

I will say frankly that I have long been convinced that the party made a mistake the year it renounced its former name and its former program—social democratic. This was done under the influence of illusions concerning the impending revolution in Europe and throughout the world, until which it was necessary to hold on to power in our country at any price. After the civil war, Lenin had second thoughts. The New Economic Policy was announced. It was at that time that Lenin declared that we had changed our entire view of socialism. Now, on the basis of 70 years of experience, we are once again fundamentally revising our views.

The socialist idea, of course, preserves its significance to the extent that it expresses values common to all mankind and also demands for the social protection of the less well-to-do strata, unskilled workers, the unemployed and retirees, for example. But any attempt to design a new plan of the "building of socialism" in advance is hopeless.

The national idea has of late become the predominant idea virtually in our country's social consciousness. It is playing a positive part in the destruction of the centralized administrative-command system. But in becoming national ideology and standing above the real interests of actual people it is increasingly seriously opposed to natural and mutually profitable economic and cultural ties and human relations. The national idea is being propounded by Landsbergis, who is dreaming of Lithuania's secession from the Union, Ter-Petrosyan, who is seeking Armenia's real sovereignty within the framework of the Union, and even Geydar Aliyev, who recently initiated his election campaign. And look what has happened with the Russian national idea. People were thinking of a strengthening of Russia's sovereignty, but have in practice begun to contribute to the destruction of the Russian Federation.

We have seen how difficult it was for B.N. Yeltsin to answer at a recent press conference a question concerning the withdrawal of Tataria from the RSFSR and its conversion into a Union republic.

The evolution the national idea has undergone in other countries of the world cannot be ignored. This also is not a new phenomenon. In Africa. In Asia. In Latin America. But the fervor of struggle for political freedom passed, and the natural question arose: Did life get better for actual people, for each family, for each social group under the conditions of the new regimes—al-Nasir or al-Qadhdhafi or Khomeyni? In politics it is important not so much who departs as who arrives.

These questions are even more appropriate with us. While the Union republics have been struggling for their sovereignty, everything has been clear. But what about in the future! There are 130 nations in our country, and each of them has the right—regardless of size—to equal sovereignty. Consequently, the formation of 130 republics—large and small—and their unification in this form of Union or the other is logically inevitable. Are the supporters of the national sovereignty of the Union republics prepared for such a development of events? No Union republic is agreeing as yet to "release" the autonomous entities which are a part of it. Not to mention the small nations that do not have their own statehood. The model of federations established by the 1936 Stalin Constitution with the addenda incorporated on the eve of the Great Patriotic War is thereby preserved. Perhaps now is the time to be thinking of a model of the Union as a whole? Perhaps we should be accommodating the aspirations of the various nations and territories and creating a Union of sovereign republics in accordance with the wishes of the population, as in the United States? Such major regions as Moscow, Leningrad, and the Kuzbass or Donbass could lay claim to the place of independent subject in the future Union.

All things considered, it is obvious that the struggle of the said ideologies represents not only an expression of pluralism, interests, and opinions but explosive material for confrontation and conflicts. For ideology is more a field of passions than interests. It is a closed system of value orientations and principles expressing the views, prejudices, and illusions of social or national groups which aspire to foist them on all of society, and a struggle of ideologies is a most bitter struggle. Can we not set ideological disputes aside for a while, declare a moratorium, and concentrate on the accomplishment of practical tasks? If de-ideologization is possible in the international arena in relations with those whom we even recently considered class enemies, why is it impossible within our society?

The democratic idea could at first sight be a platform of social concord. But this would be an extraordinarily eclectic platform presented by radical democrats, socialist democrats, nationalist democrats, and federalist democrats advancing entirely different demands.

There is an obvious idea, which could be the platform of society's consolidation in the name of its progress and in the interests of all peoples, each family and each individual. This idea is being heard increasingly often from the rostrums of the USSR Supreme Soviet and other soviets and is recognized in this form or the other by all political currents.

IT IS THE IDEA OF TRANSITION TO A MODERN CIVILIZATION. More than 100 states of the world have, one after the other, effected this transition. Well, will we continue to be the only ones marching in step, believing that all mankind is out of step?

We are now for the first time really faced with serious structural reforms. And, for heaven's sake, there is no need to reinvent our own market wheel, our own homegrown, utterly unique federation, our own particular parliamentary system and distinctive mechanisms of the protection of the rights of the individual. Mankind has already realized experience which we are only just beginning to assimilate. We need to study it and take from it what is best. The elementary requirements of world civilization are contradicted by the idea of a market where state monopoly continues dominant, of a mixed economy which does not recognize private property, of a parliament not directly elected by the people, a multiparty system merely with one major party, a presidential regime lacking real executive authority, and a Union of states which is itself not a state. Sooner or later we will have to bring all this into line with what mankind has achieved by hard work at the end of the 20th century.

Technological revolution, economic freedom. Mixed ownership—joint-stock, cooperative, private, state. International division of labor. Open civil society. And, as a result, a high modern standard and quality of life. These goals may be accomplished only on the paths of rational pragmatic policy with, of course, both short-term and long-term missions. And when we have achieved modern productivity and a modern living standard, then the people will, perhaps, conceive a desire to erect socialism on this foundation. This, in fact, was what our fathers—the founders of this teaching—supposed, and it never occurred to them that the least developed countries would catch up with the highest structure of society.

One further amusing point. "Our task," the "Action Program..." says, "is to spread propaganda of humanitarian values such as collectivism, industriousness, mutual tolerance, respect for one's elders, decency, and charity."

So, humanism is collectivism. A cow, a horse, a cat, a dog. Humanism is in fact humaneness, freedom and the rights of the individual. Humanism for us means new reference criteria. The value of a society is determined by the position of the individual, not by what it calls itself—socialist or capitalist.

And the final point—concerning the specifics, on which the "Action Program..." insists, and not it alone, concerning the specifics of Russia or Georgia or Armenia or Lithuania.

Of course, our country and each region of it are distinguished by great specifics of historical and cultural traditions, and state socialism had few counterparts among other peoples. But did fewer specifics distinguish India, which has been called a country facing the past? Or South Korea? Or Brazil? Or Spain? Not to mention such a distinctive country as Japan.

Look at China's experience, it is extraordinarily instructive for us. It is particularly difficult introducing Chinese civilization, like ours, to experience common to all mankind. Ten years ago this country embarked on the path of modernization and was successful in the development of the economy. But the country's leaders wanted to use only world technological experience, ignoring political and civil pluralism. This became a barrier in the way of the country's development.

It is for us also dangerous to fence ourselves off from experience common to all mankind and to focus attention on the national specifics of individual regions or the country as a whole. There is no enigma concerning our national character: it was invented by people who, on the fringes of European civilization, wanted to formulate a standard of life for all mankind. There is the real history of a country which is agonizingly becoming accustomed to the modern technological revolution and, surmounting decades of isolation, the legacy of an authoritarian-patriarchal culture and the defects of statism, is agonizingly and spontaneously becoming a part of the world community. This history is in some respects reminiscent of what happened in other not very developed countries, and in some respects different from them.

We will join the modern world not in order to be the same as others but not either to counterpose ourselves to others. And then this world—the world of the 21st century—will be propitious both for us and for all of mankind.

Moscow, Leningrad Deputies Decry 'Blockade'

LD1009140490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 10 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Here, in Moscow, a statement of the assembly of the Interregional Deputies' Group was adopted today. It is entitled "About the Situation in Moscow and Leningrad."

Literally, a few extracts from it:

Of late, against the background of the general serious situation in the country, the situation in the cities of Moscow and Leningrad has become particularly severe. There is every reason to believe that reactionary forces, having suffered a defeat in the elections in Moscow and Leningrad, are now attempting to suffocate both sources of democratic growth by acting maliciously.

Realizing just how serious the situation around Moscow and Leningrad is, the Interregional Deputies' Group calls on the democratic forces of all republics not to permit the blockade of these cities and not to sever economic ties with them, giving them all the support possible under current conditions.

Further on Group Statement

LD1009165990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1534 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Moscow, 10 September (TASS)—TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov reports:

An appeal from the general assembly of the Interregional Group of Deputies [IGD], one of the factions operating within the Soviet parliament, points to the growing social tension which is "reaching danger level" in Moscow and Leningrad. The appeal was distributed here today.

As a result of the artificial severance of vitally important economic links and growing isolation, the document says, "These cities are effectively becoming the victims of an undeclared blockade."

The members of the IGD say that those to blame for the situation that is developing are "reactionary forces in the apparat." Implementation of this plan, the appeal says, "is being objectively promoted by those local bodies of authority" which are "fanning anti-Moscow and anti-Leningrad sentiments and disorganizing the already weakened economy of the two major cities."

The IGD appeals to the democratic forces of all republics "not to permit the blockade of these cities nor to break off economic relations with them, and to provide every possible support in the present conditions."

The IGD calls upon the local authorities, in endorsing their political authority "not to introduce schism and disorganization into democratic structures, to resist provocations, and to consolidate the efforts of democrats in the search for a way out of the deepening crisis."

Bread Shortages Reported; Resolutions Sought

Muscovites Complain of Shortages

LD0309220590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian in its "Vremya" newscast at 1700 GMT on 3 September carries a 1.5-minute report on the current bread situation in Moscow.

The announcer says that many people are phoning to ask what is happening to bread in Moscow and why it cannot be bought morning, noon, or night. He says that he has contacted Yuriy Vasiliyevich Klyuchenko, Moskhlebtorg [Moscow State Organization for Retail Trade in Baked Goods] general director, on the phone. The latter was heard to say that about 12 production lines have now gone out of operation in the bread-baking industry. He listed seven bread works that are functioning with stoppages and not producing the necessary quantities of bread, and hence reducing orders for bread by some 50 percent. As a result schedules for bread deliveries to shops are not working properly, deliveries being 10 hours late. Lack of qualified cadres—about 1,500 people have left recently—and poor work equipment were given as reasons for late deliveries. Klyuchenko said that measures are now being taken to help solve the cadre problem and a construction group in the bread-baking industry is busy putting idle capacity into operation.

TRUD Ponders Rationing

904D0218A Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Sep 90 p 1

[Article by V. Natykin: "'Rationed Bread'—It Is Possible That We Will Have To Ration This Critical Product As Well"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The person who sent the following letter from Mordovia probably endured this misfortune as well:

"Dear Editor,

"I thank you in advance for hearing me out. I do not intend to complain, but the leadership of our rayon cannot understand that the 300 grams of bread a day proposed for drivers during the harvest are only enough for a rabbit. In our village we have neither meat nor milk. Can one really survive on that sort of bread ration? The leaders of Kochkurovskiy Rayon have established the distribution norm for one person at half of a long loaf. And a whole loaf weighs 650 grams. You can calculate it for yourselves....

"I have been working as a driver for 20 years and I have never seen them so stingy with bread. I could understand if it were socks or some other product in short demand. We could get by. But an empty belly at work is uncomfortable. The governments of the country and the republic promised us the sky if only we would save the harvest. And here we are without bread. What are we to do? How do we explain to our little children? They ask for bread every day. Help us!"

The letter was unsigned. But no one raised a hand to send it off to the archives—your soul aches when you read it. And no amount of imagination could think up something like this. Incidentally, we are receiving telephone calls and letters from Novgorod, Tyumen, and other places about the very same thing. Even in our own Moscow—built of white stone—we were only able to buy a crust of rye bread at the sixth store we visited on a day off. But consider: Even if there is some "exaggeration" in the letter of the Mordovian peasant it is pardonable; he is not grieving about caviar, herring, or meat—long forgotten by now—but about our daily bread. And so I telephoned V. Smirnov, chairman of the Kochkurovskiy Rayon Committee of Trade Union Workers. I read the bitter complaint of his fellow countryman and I asked whether it was true. Viktor Alekseyevich was full of civil indignation and optimism: he asserted that this is probably the intrigue of some free-thinking informal. They are the ones troubling the waters. To complain at this time is a sin. Every single person, insists the trade union leader, is getting two loaves of bread each. That should certainly be enough.

God is the judge of such optimism. But it is good that workers of the agro-industrial complex in the oblast committee of the trade unions and in the government of Mordovia do not share these feelings. There they are concerned by the emergency situation with bread, they are sounding the alarm, and...they are requesting that the government of Russia help them resolve it. They are sending messengers to neighboring and distant oblasts, and they are proposing to trade any product they own for flour, for instance cement, excavators, and any natural wealth although, to tell the truth, the last item is taken from them anyway.

What happened on this occasion: Did the Russians provoke the wrath of the divine tsar or did someone again "overlook them, glance at them, and then forget them"? I telephoned V. Sayenko, RSFSR deputy minister of grain products. Here is what he told me:

"In Moscow the difficulty with bread arose because there is no one to work in the bakery enterprises. Previously this problem was resolved using people from outside the city on temporary work permits. Now the capital is closed to them. In addition, a bread plant which could have produced 200 tons per day of hearth-baked bread was ready to be brought on line. The Moscow Soviet put a stop to the project.

"The situation is different in the rest of Russia. This year enough flour was allotted to bake 11 million tons of bakery products inasmuch as a tendency toward a decrease in the demand of that product was being observed. But when demand for it increased in 40 oblasts and autonomous republics, interruptions in the supply of flour naturally occurred.

"Our production could increase output of bakery products without any special efforts; there is sufficient capacity, but there is no grain to be found. (And this at a time of such a colossal harvest—V.N.) The kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] are not in a hurry to fulfill their obligations to the state. Pressure and order do not work these days. Nor are the levers of economic incentive working. Even the decision of the Russian Government to sell coupons for critical goods in exchange for any grain over the target did not help. So if the republic's farms do not hand over the amount of grain that is designated by our agreements, the grain problem will not be eased. It is possible that it may get worse." [passage omitted]

Shelves in Moscow 'Empty'

904D0219A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Single Edition p 6

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent V. Pyankova Novgorod and N. Obruchev under the "The Latest News" rubric: "In Line for Bread"]

[Text] **Novgorod**

Russians have not seen bread lines since, perhaps, the beginning of the sixties—the years of bad harvests. And now, during a year of unprecedented crops, they are showing up here and there in some cities of central Russia. In particular, there is that photograph taken on one of the last days of August near the store "Hot Bread" in Novgorod. The scene around other Novgorod stores selling bread in recent weeks has not been better.

Were these events so unexpected?

Back in the middle of August a telegram reached the Russian Ministry of Trade over the signature of V. Tsalpan, deputy chairman of the Novgorod Oblispolkom [Oblast Soviet Executive Committee], requesting that flour quotas be increased for the third quarter. But on 30 July instructions from I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, went out to that same ministry as well as the cities and the whole of the republic regarding maintenance of third quarter flour quotas at last year's levels. By July last year's stores of grain and flour were approaching their end, the grain from the new harvest still had not ripened, and not everything was going smoothly with deliveries of imports.

"In the absence of many other products, to freeze quotas for bread at the previous level was an unrealistic step," believes V. Sayenko, deputy minister for production of grain of the RSFSR Ministry of Grain Production. "Production of flour is under the authority of our ministry, production of bread is also our prerogative, and we deliver all the products needed for preparing bakery products to the enterprises—everything except the flour itself."

"Bread is bread, and all the resources that go into it are funded strictly by the state," explains V. Malysheva, deputy chief of the foods administration of the RSFSR Ministry of Trade. "But in essence we have neither grain nor flour. We only give permission for the consumption of a certain amount of flour in a certain region."

After my conversation with the leaders of these two departments, I still did not understand why such a confusing system is needed and why the distribution stage of such a basic product—flour—is outside the jurisdiction of the grain producers and bakers.

However, accepting circumstances as they are today, we will return to our starting point—to the bread lines in central Russia.

"Back in the first quarter we complained to a number of oblasts: Why make requests for quantities of flour that they could not possibly consume? It is no secret to anyone that the confusion began at the end of May after the well-known speech of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers on Central Television," continues V. Malysheva.

There was a special over-consumption of flour, according to data of the Ministry of Trade, in those areas where they were feeding bread to the livestock—in the central oblasts of Russia. And it is not surprising. They grow their grain crops poorly there, and the agreements to receive fodder from other oblasts are not being observed. Now the grain regions are trying primarily to provide for themselves and to create a good reserve. In Novgorod Oblast, for instance, the rural population consumes 424 grams of bread per day for each person, whereas for the oblast as a whole that figure is 191.8 grams and for Russia—118.7 grams. In Murmansk, for instance, the average consumption of bread per person per day is only 74 grams, and in Leningrad it is 86 grams.

Of course, the comparison is not to the benefit of the Russian peasant. But it is impossible not to notice the difference between the shelf of a store, for instance, in the Novgorod, Pskov, or Yaroslavl countryside and one in a Leningrad or Murmansk self-service store. Meanwhile that same Novgorod, Pskov, or Yaroslavl consumer does not care why the peasant has no fodder and the "higher" echelons cannot solve this business once and for all. He, the consumer, just stands in a line that is unprecedented in 30 years and curses everyone and everything, starting with the seller.

"I would like to emphasize," said V. Malysheva, "that the aforementioned instructions on the maintenance of quotas at last year's level affects only the third quarter, and those same instructions stipulate compensation for the missing flour from the fourth quarter quotas which, incidentally, have been increased significantly in comparison with last year's."

"But people need to eat every day—in September too."

"We do not need panic and confusion. No one will be left without bread, of course. In our ministry we will most certainly resolve the question of allotting additional flour quotas for the people of Novgorod, and they can take a portion of the October-December account in advance."

In general, I would like very much to calm the Russians down—the people I talked to promised that the population would not be left without bread. But in the corridors of the RSFSR Ministry of Trade I accidentally met the leaders of trade from Tula and Gorkiy and asked them how things were in their oblasts with bread. They gave me rather vague responses: They said that lines for tobacco were now longer than those for bread... for the time being... After that, I felt new doubts.

Moscow

We have seen it all! That long-awaited time has arrived when there are sights in abundance in the capital—from avant garde art to pornography—but the bread shelves are empty. Long lines are forming by the bakeries in many rayons of Moscow. But these long lines do not put bread on the shelves. Workers at the stores explain the situation by saying that several enterprises of the baking industry have recently been closed for repairs. As you can understand, there is no questioning that explanation! But there is one twist: Those branches, whose products are needed by tens of millions of long-suffering Soviet people, have somehow become so run down all at once that the decision was made to repair them all the very same month. Otherwise, so they say, there would be a general crash! So it happens that at first people stood in lines for hours (and days) for tobacco, and now they do it for bread.

But, you understand, Moscow lines are everywhere. Now you see and hear of nothing but lines—any other event simply fades by comparison. Although they still have not reached the popularity of wrestling. By the way, after the wrestling matches scheduled for the end of September, our receptive public may begin to carry this type of "cultured" combat over to the lines of the capital as well. For now it has not reached that point. And thank God! Because, as the old saying goes, save us from experiencing a Russian riot. For now the people, fortunately, are railing verbally. True, they do not spare anyone. If you want to learn a mass of information—stand in a bread line. And in Moscow, we repeat, they are everywhere. But we will not predict that the capital will avoid "bread riots": The sight may be tragic. This is what is alarming...

Situation 'Remains Acute'

PM1109100090 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Report by L. Kushnarenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The situation regarding bread supplies in the capital remains acute. And so there is another shortage, and that while 300 million tonnes of grain has grown in the fields. And the explanation? Inadequate and obsolete equipment at bread combines, the bakery workers' hard work and low pay, and so on and so forth. All this is, unquestionably, true. Nonetheless, the question arises: Why did no one foresee this crisis? Incidentally, the situation is similar in Mordovia, Tyumen, and some other cities in Russia. Perhaps the anticrisis committee which has been set up in Moscow will attend to this now. In any case, Popov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, speaking on television yesterday, assured Muscovites that the bread situation will stabilize within a week. Let's wait and see.

[Reporter] At the Moscow City Soviet there was a press conference today on preparations in Moscow for the transition to market relations. Meanwhile bread had finally arrived at the former "Filipov" bakery shop on Tverskaya Street.

These are unpleasant, strange days, there is no denying it. But it seems that people in both buildings understand the situation. There was no pessimism in their remarks.

You have taken two loaves. What for?

[Shopper] For my family.

[Reporter] What are the reasons for the disruptions in the supply of bread, in your opinion?

[Another shopper] Probably some kind of tie-up in organization or trade. I cannot see any other reason. At the depots there is probably enough of everything.

[Reporter] And what do you think?

[Another shopper] This bakery shop used to belong to my family, the Filipovs.

[Reporter] Really? But what is your opinion?

[Same shopper] We must be patient. They will restore order, no doubt.

[Reporter] But, given your circumstances, what are your feelings?

[Same shopper] Russian people are patient.

[Another shopper] There have been all kinds of explanations about people being sacked, about equipment... In my opinion this is sabotage pure and simple.

[Yu.M. Luzhkov, chairman of Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, seen giving a press conference] What has happened with bread is our city's problem and we are to blame. One in four of the enterprises which sell bread are either without bread or short of some varieties of bread. In the next few days this problem will be alleviated at first, and then eliminated altogether. Next Tuesday this problem will be the subject of a serious analysis from which conclusions will be drawn at a session of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee.

Mobile Bakeries To Be Used

PM1109094590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by V. Belikov: "Capital in Grip of Shortages"]

[Text] A news conference on the capital's current problems was held 5 September at the Moscow Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee].

Talking to journalists, the chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom, Yu. Luzhkov, and the leaders of city services did not hide the fact that an extremely difficult situation is taking shape in many vitally important areas of life in Moscow. The critical condition of many of the city's subdivisions preparing to transfer to market relations means that urgent decisions must be taken.

They announced that on 1 January 1991 the city's passenger transport will transfer to full economic accountability and self-financing. It is planned to create a Moscow motor transport exchange. So far, there has been no mention of raising the price of transport services and passenger transport charges in this connection. On the other hand, a system of payment for the treatment of non-Moscow patients in the capital's medical establishments has been drawn up and approved. The medical collectives of economic accountability hospitals have decided to buy out their clinics and organize a joint-stock association on their basis.

And now briefly about the other questions raised at the news conference:

Tobacco and bakery products: The number of cigarettes supplied for Moscow trade will soon reach 5.5 million packs per day. That would be enough to satisfy Muscovites' demand but, unfortunately, the tobacco shortage has spread to the entire central region and a considerable proportion of these goods are being taken out of the city. Evidently the situation will not get back to normal until November.

Normal bread trade will be restored within the next few days. There is an accord on resuming use of mobile army bakeries and making them available to leaseholders, cooperatives, and private bakers. The overseas purchase of a plant for the preparation of frozen dough and its establishment in the capital are being speeded up. This dough can be stored for a long time for future use without losing its taste, thereby forming a necessary reserve for increasing the amount of bread baked.

The city's heating supply during the coming winter: Effective measures are being taken to ensure a normal supply of heat to the capital over the next six months. But this is no easy task: The construction of housing and other projects in the northern sector of Moscow has been suspended as a result of demands to temporarily close down the Northern Heat and Electric Power Plant. The capital repair and retooling of several old central heating plants will not go ahead for the same reason. Incidentally, the city authorities are prepared to bring in an independent panel of international experts to establish whether the power installation that has prompted stormy debate is environment-friendly.

The laying in of vegetables for storage: The harvesting is going normally in the Moscow region. This is primarily thanks to Moscow students, who have responded quickly to the city authorities' appeal for help. Two detachments will soon be leaving for Astrakhan Oblast for the vegetable harvest. Moscow Gorispolkom expressed its appreciation to the young students and the heads of Moscow higher education establishments for their active role in the fall field work.

Wine and vodka lines: The situation is unlikely to show any rapid improvement. During the anti-alcohol campaign, production and bottling lines were destroyed and even glass plants manufacturing bottles were converted. There is a particularly catastrophic shortage of 0.75-liter bottles for wine. Imports from Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania—our suppliers for many years—have virtually ceased. In short, the entire "raw material producer-enterprise-trade network-consumer" chain has been broken.

In conclusion, answering a question by your IZVESTIYA correspondent about relations with the central and republic authorities, Luzhkov said:

"As a rule, we meet with understanding and kindly support on individual matters and isolated appeals to the higher authorities. However, the principles of relations between the capital and the union and republic institutions in its territory are still very unclear. This gives rise to conflict: For example, take the situation when ministries and departments being abolished were simply formally renamed as 'concerns' and 'associations' while retaining the same administrative functions and inflated staffs and seeing a substantial increase in their wages. We strongly objected to this, saying that Moscow—which is transferring to market relations—no longer wishes to be the arena for bureaucratic games like these.

"There is now a greater need than ever before to establish the capital's status and to have laws defining the rights and responsibilities of the state structures in its territory."

Sverdlovsk Issues 'Ultimatum'

PM1109100690 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 90 p 1

[Report by V. Sanatin: "Ultimatum, Another Ultimatum!"]

[Text] Following Tyumen's trade unions (see "Ultimatum for the Holiday," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 2 September 1990), Sverdlovsk deputies have put a tough ultimatum to the country's president, the Union government, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

The city soviet's deputies are not yet in a position to cope with the food crisis which has the city in its grip. The counters of Sverdlovsk stores are unprecedentedly empty. For six months now many residents have been unable to exchange coupons for sausages and sugar. There is no poultry, canned fish, flour, fat... There is no tobacco.

The city soviet warns the central authorities that, if stock deliveries of foodstuffs are not ensured in the very near future, the city's enterprises will stop deliveries of industrial and defense output under the state order.

Moscow Radio Reports on New Commodity Exchange

LD0809174690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Summary] Correspondent Oleg Aksenov reports on a commodity/raw materials exchange in Moscow, saying that its aim is to assist enterprises and trade organizations in establishing contacts with each other on the basis of market economy. Konstantin Natanovich Borovoy, head of the association of business cooperation—one of the founders of the commodity/raw materials exchange—says in an interview that the exchange will be engaged in a wholesale trade in means of production, raw materials, consumer goods, and securities. The exchange is now being turned into a joint stock company, though it started to operate in April 1990.

Moscow Panel To Register All Political Parties

90UN2756A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent Yu. Bersenev on interview with Moscow Soviet official; place and date not given: "The Moscow Soviet Is Registering Parties"]

[Text] **The Moscow City Soviet Presidium and the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee have decided to set up a commission to register all political parties, as well as all public organizations and the mass media.**

How many of them do we have in Moscow? Even counting them is not a simple matter. We have, for instance, an "Association of Interferon Researchers," a "Peace Family" Association, a "Soviet Homeopathic League," a "Free Association of Feminist Organizations," etc. The rayon soviets will also get involved in the registration in cases where the organizations' activities do not reach beyond the rayon limits.

We used to have the same practice: Cultural societies that were created on an ethnic basis, for instance, could become active after their charters were approved by the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom [Executive Committee]. But the procedure has been considerably simplified now. An organization has only to state the fact of its existence and it will be registered, without being subjected to any restraints.

"But do we need registration if there is such freedom?"

"First, the very fact that the public association was recognized by the Moscow Soviet, an organ of soviet power, allows the association to enjoy all the legal rights," says L. Abayushkin, executive secretary of the interagency commission under the Council for Public Associations. "It means that you can open your own bank account, interact with law enforcing organs, and have your own stamps, forms, and seal. Upon receiving our approval, organizations will be able to address other agencies like, for instance, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and register there as participants in foreign economic actions. For this they will be able to have their own hard currency account and a trademark."

I noticed a small pack of papers on his desk, next to a huge pile of applications. These were the organization registration forms. About two dozen of those have been signed.

"What is the legal foundation for this entire procedure?" I keep asking Leonid Yuryevich.

"The only Union law to regulate the existence of public organizations is the 1932 decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers. As you can see it is a rather "dated" document. Apart from that, its enforcement has been suspended since the USSR Law on Public Organizations was adopted at its first reading. There is also the 1982 decree No. 816 of the USSR Council of Ministers, which states that the formation of various Union and republic as well as international groups on the territory of the city has to be approved by the Moscow Soviet Ispolkom. We are guided by this also somewhat atavistic decree.

Our conversation reached the point which it would have been considered blasphemous to step over even quite recently: namely, does anyone in the Moscow Soviet assume that the CPSU, the Russian Communist Party, and the Moscow CPSU City Committee will want to register together with other political parties and public organizations? And if they do, has there been any exchange of opinions? Abayushkin said that nobody has come out with such an initiative.

"If we take a formal look, the CPSU has never been registered anywhere," he continued. "The very idea would have seemed absurd before, but now it is different. The CPSU is equal among the equal. And the fact that it has 18 million members compared to just 10 members of some other party does not seem to be of importance. There should be exactly same criteria for all. True, there is a minor reservation that people like to quote. The amended Article 6 of the USSR Constitution states: "the CPSU and other political parties..." Therefore, they claim that the CPSU has been recognized in the Constitution, which cannot be said about any other party."

But on the other hand, Russia is guided by its declaration of sovereignty as well as by the republic laws, which take priority over Union laws. And the Russian Constitution does not contain such a phrase, and that makes the reservation invalid. For that reason, after we create the necessary legal basis in future and pass a Union, or better still a Russian, law on public associations we will demand that the rules be the same for everybody concerning the registration and location of party headquarters. And these rules should exclude any special privileges for the CPSU.

Rostov Nuclear Power Station Project Mothballed

PM1009112290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent V. But: "Nuclear to Thermal"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—The USSR and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Councils of Ministers have adopted a decision on halting the construction of the Rostov Nuclear Power Station. It proposes an examination of the feasibility of converting the facility to a thermal power station operating on fossil fuel.

A telegram containing this announcement went to three addresses: the Rostov and Volgograd Oblast Soviets and the Volgodonsk City Soviet. Decisions to close the station were adopted at sessions of several city and rayon soviets and then by the oblast soviet. The neighbors—the people of Volgograd—were also actively opposed to the construction. This was due to the extreme exacerbation of the political situation surrounding the project and delays in organizing an independent expert appraisal. In effect, the unstable situation was caused by the departments that were making everything a secret, even obvious facts. But the government had to make the final decision.

The relevant ministries were instructed to elaborate a plan for mothballing the facility. Many questions connected with the provision of social protection, work for the construction and operating personnel, and power for consumers in Rostov Oblast also have to be tackled...

Tula Aktiv Says State Must Control Market

PM1009135290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Arnold Pushkar under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Without Abandoning Principles"]

[Text] Tula—Tula Oblast party aktiv meeting participants have discussed the results of the 28th CPSU Congress and then addressed a letter to the party Central Committee.

In the letter it is stated, in particular: "...The situation is being aggravated by hasty and ill-considered plans for the denationalization of state property, privatization, and private enterprise incentives, which inevitably makes people think about the possibility of our life's being capitalized... We are not against market relations. It is indeed a powerful lever for boosting our economy. But it must be under state control.'

The letter, which urges the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo to take immediate, decisive action to stabilize the situation in the country, is peppered with expressions that generate hostility, such as "destructive extremist elements are endeavoring to take advantage of the crisis situation by fueling passions, provoking conflicts, and encouraging anticommunist sentiments." At the same time, there is no mention of the fact that it is not some extremists, but rallying Tula plant workers who are demanding the resignation of the oblast leadership, which has reduced the workers' city to a semi-starvation level. It is workers' Tula that is insisting on radical changes in the economy: transfer of the land of "surplus" kolkhozes to those who want to work on it, privatization, and market relations without any "buts."

In their efforts to shift the blame onto the central organs and mythical "destructive elements," the Tula apparatchiks avoided analyzing their own, to put it mildly, "ill-considered actions," as a result of which the oblast was swamped with defense and chemical plants and fell behind neighbors—Ryazan, Orel, and Kaluga Oblasts—in terms of provision of home-produced food. Instead of devising an oblast program to escape from the impasse they are continuing to play the "socialism-capitalism" word game here.

Western Republics

Hijacker Semenov Begins Five-Year Jail Sentence

LD0609182790 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 6 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Gorelik]

[Text] Minsk September 6 TASS—Optimistic forecasts that Dmitriy Semenov, who hijacked a Soviet airliner to Sweden, would be acquitted proved false. Semenov's three-day trial ended here today, and the verdict of the Belorussian Supreme Court was announced. The 17-year-old hijacker has been sentenced to five years in prison. He will serve the prison term in an ordinary reformatory for juvenile delinquents.

Lawyer Zair Azgur told TASS that, taking into consideration Semenov's exemplary behaviour, good marks at a technical school, soft and emotional character, he could have been left on probation. He does not need re-education. The investigation, trial and three months of detention first in a Swedish, then in a Soviet prison were punishment enough for him. The stay in a reformatory will hardly do him or society good. Society could have received a skilled specialist in two years.

Prosecutor Ivan Sukhoverkh, who asked the court to sentence Semenov to six years of imprisonment, assesses his actions from a purely legal point of view. During the preliminary investigation and the trial Semenov's misdeed—the hijacking of a plane to Sweden with the use of a threat—was fully proven, he said. Testimonies by witnesses confirm that the danger of an air crash was quite real, even without the explosion of a grenade, due to possible panic on board the plane or the unsuccessful landing of the plane in a foreign airport by a crew that has no experience in international flights. Semenov's acquittal would have run counter both to the law and common sense. It would have certainly been a bad example set before other potential hijackers.

Vladimir Krygin, a well-known lawyer who chaired the trial, stressed that, when passing the sentence, judges took into account Semenov's character, the broken-home of his childhood, as well as his high emotional excitability. This is why they chose the lowest punishment envisaged by the Belorussian legislation for such crimes. He pointed out that judges cannot be carried away by emotions and act contrary to the law, i.e. against society.

The verdict by the Belorussian Supreme Court is final. It has already gone into effect.

Belorussia Abolishes Quality Control Service

904A0579A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by TASS correspondent V. Belyayev, special to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA: "Good-Bye to Gospriyemka"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has eliminated the nonagency production quality control service [Gospriyemka—State Acceptance Service] on its territory. Previously, a similar decision was made by the Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies. This decree has an explanation also: It is due to the transfer to market relations in the economy.

A voice in defense of the service was heard at that congress. A people's deputy working for the service suggested that nonagency control over the residential and municipal construction be preserved. "No, no exceptions!" decided the deputies.

By that time the fate of the Gospriyemka had already been sealed and no interference from the republic authorities was required. It was a year ago, at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that the leader of the Union government, and later one of his deputies, spoke in favor of eliminating the nonagency control service. A few days later one person, aspiring to become chairman of the USSR State Committee for Output Quality Control and Standards, said in his speech to the deputies: "The Gospriyemka is not an instrument of production quality control."

Thus, in no time at all, a state control service employing 53,000 people was dismissed and demoralized. This happened three years after the central press printed information on the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures Aimed at Fundamental Improvement in Production Quality." This was the very document that prescribed the creation of such a service—to accept finished products and to control quality improvement measures at associations and enterprises.

In the summer of 1987 the Gospriyemka was supervising work at 1,500 enterprises.

At the government's request the State Committee for Standards started to set up nonagency quality control for residential and municipal construction. Some of the workers spoke against it. They even went on strike at one sector of a Sverdlovsk house building combine. The Gospriyemka interfered with their work, they claimed. But a Leningrad consumers' club thought that the quality of housing improved considerably after the service was introduced.

The Gospriyemka cannot be simply eliminated from the working history of our industry and our construction. The employees of the service contributed a lot to improved production, they helped strengthen technological discipline at enterprises and to harmonize administrative relations. The Gospriyemka helped change the people's attitude towards the problem of production quality; it struck a blow against sloppiness and did not allow consumers' interests to be ignored.

It seemed that the high efficiency of the service would help overcome the chronic disease of our industries: producing large or huge numbers of defective goods. It seemed that the new service would become established in practice and be recognized by workers. Only those experienced industry officials who could not be surprised by anyone or anything used to say: "No, this business won't last."

The skeptics, unfortunately, proved to be right. When things got especially bad for the budget, the Gospriyemka came to mind. This service demanded some 330 rubles [R] million a year. But the main thing was that the service, according to some leaders, did not fit into the financial autonomy framework as it was a means of administrative, noneconomic enforcement. Those who actively supported nonagency control three years ago have changed their opinions now. It was just a mistake.

Now the Gospriyemka is slowly dying. In the first half of this year its branches still gave their stamp of approval to several billion rubles worth of products. They returned goods to factories for correction or repairs to the sum of R4.4 billion. They stopped R20 million worth of goods from being released. But the service is on its last legs as they say, the service that must have appeared by mistake. It will cease to exist by the end of the current year.

One circumstance here deserves a closer look. Certain associations and plants which produce sophisticated equipment decided not to part with the office known at present as Gospriyemka.

The first Gospriyemka offices were set up in the fall of 1986. Its last employees will leave in December of 1990. They spent four years doing their job but they will remember it for a long time yet.

Situation in Moldavia 'Remains Tense'

Deputies, Population Meet

LD0709215490 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev September 8 TASS—The social and political situation in Moldavia remains tense.

Meetings between groups of parliament deputies and the population of the republic's south and the Dniester left bank, held for over three days, have so far failed to lead to any compromise.

At the same time, the LENINSKOYE SLOVO, newspaper of the Komrat district council of people's deputies, has published lists of the central election commission for the election to the Supreme Council of the Gagauz Soviet Socialist Republic within the framework of the Soviet Union.

Over 70,000 electors are expected to take part in elections scheduled for October 28. The election campaign in the republic's south will hardly stabilise the situation in the area.

Elections in Moldavia, held in March, resulted in the election of local and republican bodies of power. Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz Republic, whose proclamation was declared unconstitutional and illegal by the Moldavian parliament, could lead to a deadlock in Moldavia.

Rallies Continue in Towns

LD0809170990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Sep 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the Moldovian Soviet Socialist Republic remains difficult.

As (?Kostash), the republic's minister of internal affairs, declared while speaking on local television, despite the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet's moratorium on rallies until the end of the year, they are continuing in some towns. Certain leaders in Tiraspol continue to promote tension and create on the left bank parallel state structural associations.

As USSR Internal Affairs Minister Bakatin declared in a telegram answering the leadership of the so-called temporary Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic that the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs considers the decision on forming a Dnestr republic unconstitutional.

Militia Arrival Protested

PM1009091090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar under the rubric "Direct Line": "Protest Rally in Komrat"]

[Text] Kishinev, 31 Aug—The situation in the steppe region of southern Moldova, where there is a high density Gagauz population, contains to remain complex. M. Snegur, chairman of the Moldova Supreme Soviet, held a conference with leaders of law enforcement bodies, which discussed matters concerning the sociopolitical situation connected with "the actions of Gagauz leaders and inflammatory commentaries by Central Television justifying the proclamation of a so-called Gagauz republic within the Soviet Union."

Instructions have been given to prosecute "people who stir up interethnic discord and initiate separatist sentiments." Criminal proceedings are already under way.

How is the situation regarded in Komrat, the center of the proclaimed Gagauz republic? I telephoned the local rayon party committee. The receiver was picked up by Second Secretary I. Bizhan.

"A special-purpose militia detachment of about 50 men, led by Moldova Internal Affairs Minister I. Kostash, arrived in the rayon center at midday yesterday. The appearance of militia—particularly armed militia—in the city streets only added to the tension. A protest rally was held in Victory Square in this connection. People demanded talks with the minister and the removal of the special-purpose militia detachment armed with submachineguns. The people did not leave the square all night and there were threats of a general strike. The militia left the rayon center the next morning.

"I would particularly like to stress that order was observed during the rally and there were no excesses."

Leaders Examine Gagauz Autonomy

90UN2737A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 18 Aug 90 p 1

["Appeal to Deputies of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies and to the Entire Population of Komratskiy, Chadyr-Lungskiy, Vulkeneshtskiy, Tarakliyskiy, and Basarbyaskiy Rayons of the SSR of Moldova"]

[Text] An analysis of the sociopolitical situation in the republic over the last six months shows objectively that there are forces in the republic which are consciously tolerating and are directly interested in maintaining an atmosphere of tension and instability of the sociopolitical situation. They are playing on the unsatisfied socioeconomic wishes of the people and provoking the people to ultimatums of a political, ethnic, and moral character.

To a significant degree the aggravation of the sociopolitical situation in the republic has been aided by the ruling of the second congress of representatives of the Gagauz as well as the rulings of the Presidiums of the Soviets of People's Deputies of Komratskiy and Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayons regarding the 19 August 1990 staging of the congress of people's deputies of the republic's southern rayons. Among other issues, this congress expects to designate a deadline for conducting elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic].

The government of the republic is doing everything possible to resolve the problem of the socioeconomic, ethnic, and cultural development of the Gagauz people, and the question about the definition of borders for the area densely populated by the Gagauz will be decided in the course of the upcoming administrative and territorial reform in the republic.

However, the leadership of "Gagauz Independence Movement," a number of people's deputies of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova, deputies of the Soviets of People's Deputies of Komratskiy and Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayons, and several deputies from other rayons and cities in the south of the republic are demonstrating disrespect for the demands of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the SSR of Moldova and for the laws and decrees adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the SSR of Moldova, and are captives of political and legal nihilism and inertia of political ambitions by continuing to profit from these vitally important issues of the Gagauz people.

With all seriousness we must declare that, from the legal and constitutional point of view, all questions relating to the creation of a national-state formation for Gagauz on the territory of the state in which they live that have been proposed for examination at the upcoming congress of people's deputies of all levels of the southern rayons of the republic contradict Articles 1, 4, 68, 70, 71, 80, 97, 125, and 127 of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the SSR of Moldova. Inclusion of these questions on the agenda of the congress testifies to its deliberately anticonstitutional nature and to the anticonstitutional aspirations of the organizers of the congress. In the event of the adoption of any rulings on such questions, they will be repealed immediately and considered not to have legal force and not to entail any legal consequences.

From the political point of view, the continuation of illegal attempts to create a territorial autonomy after the adoption of the ruling on this question by the Supreme Soviet of the SSR of Moldova means that it is all nothing more than a political game, self-deception, and an attempt to deceive the Gagauz people and incite them to decisions and actions that are unreasonable and unjustified either historically, legally, or politically.

Acknowledging their own responsibility with regard to the creation of normal living conditions for the citizens of the republic and with regard to the provision of guarantees for the defense of their political, socioeconomic, cultural, and other personal rights and interests, and viewing the upcoming congress as the latest source of a serious escalation of a sociopolitical situation that is capable of halting or reversing the processes of the democratization of sociopolitical life in the republic, the leadership of the Supreme Soviet of the SSR of Moldova and the government of the SSR of Moldova appeal to leaders of the "Gagauz Independence Movement," deputies of the Soviets of People's Deputies of Komratskiy and Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayons, deputies of a number of other rayons in the south of the republic, and to the Gagauz:

—to refrain from participation in the work of a deliberately anticonstitutional organ and not to adopt any illegal rulings directed at undermining the state and public system of the republic or its territorial integrity;

—to make every effort to ensure that all questions concerning the rights and legal interests of each citizen of the republic are decided on the basis of principles of multiethnic accord (mutual understanding, respect, tolerance, and good will) and recognition of all the consequences of the possible explosive destabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the republic.

[Signed] V. Pushkash, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the SSR of Moldova
[Signed]M. Druk, prime minister of the SSR of Moldova.

Gagauz Leader Interviewed

90UN2767A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 36, 5 Sep 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Ivan Burgudzhi, member of the Provisional Committee of the Gagauz Republic and cochairman of the Gagauz Independence Movement, by N. Prikhodko; place and date not given: "Ivan Burgudzhi, a Gagauz Leader"]

[Text] It was hot in the south of Moldova. They said that the day before a large rally had been held in Komrat. Special Missions Militia Detachments [OMON] wearing bulletproof vests and helmets came. I. Kostash, SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova minister of internal affairs, arrived with an escort of submachinegunners. Thank God, they said, it did not come to an incident, except that a general used foul language much too loudly in the studio of the local radio station. There was yet another strange episode: As early as that night, representatives of the Provisional Committee were suddenly called for negotiations somewhere; they did get ready to go, but the people did not let them. At that moment somebody could not stand it and turned on a civil defense siren. People rushed out of houses and ran to the square again.

Ivan Burgudzhi, 37, member of the Provisional Committee of the Gagauz Republic and cochairman of the Gagauz Independence Movement:

[Burgudzhi] We were aware that the main point was to prevent conflicts and disturbances in order not to give the SSR of Moldova government a pretext to impose a state of emergency, bring in the troops, and frustrate the elections we had planned. This is why we persuaded the women to disperse who had gathered in front of the rayon militia department and demanded that the OMON leave our peaceful city. Incidentally, all of us were promised that the OMON would leave soon, but they did not. All of this smacks of a provocation, incidentally, as do the interrogations, surveillance, and searches conducted by an investigative team which has arrived here. Could it be that someone really believes that even now, say, I and other deputies of ours against whom criminal cases have been brought may be sent away "under escort?"

[Prikhodko] On the whole, what is your view of the official step taken by the Moldova government after the declaration of the Gagauz republic?

[Burgudzhi] In general the adjacent SSR of Moldova has no right to interfere in the affairs of our republic now. However, we did expect that all our decisions would be canceled by Kishinev, though absolutely unlawfully. For example, Prime Minister M. Druk justified the dissolution of the Gagauz Independence Movement by stating that its activities failed to comply with statutes. Our goal—the formation of an autonomous unit—was stated in the program we adopted. However, we were not given autonomy after all, and we resolved to create an independent republic.

[Prikhodko] Having violated the law of the SSR of Moldova in the process. After all, you are a lawyer yourself; there is so much talk now about the need for a rule-of-law state....

[Burgudzhi] Are the laws of an illegally existing republic legally binding on us? After all, in June of this year the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet proclaimed that the 2 August 1940 declaration of the Moldavian SSR was recognized as illegal.

[Prikhodko] Many people are surprised by the fact that you proclaimed Russian to be the state language.

[Burgudzhi] A language of interethnic communication rather than the state language. Alas, the Gagauz language in its present poor, neglected condition is not in a position to perform serious functions for now. In general, our southern part has been extremely neglected, being a raw-material appendage of the Moldavian republic.

[Prikhodko] The stubborn opposition of Kishinev and Komrat may bring about an impasse.

[Burgudzhi] We are aware of many unresolved common issues with the SSR of Moldova and are prepared to sit down at the negotiating table. The only point we insist on is that the negotiations not be held in the territory of Moldova, being mindful of how people's deputies from Tiraspol have been beaten up on the stairs of the parliament in Kishinev. We want to avoid a clash. It is always difficult to figure out later who was the first to start it.

[Prikhodko] The cases of leaders hailed and subsequently rejected by the crowd are already known. After all, you may also turn out to be "a caliph of the hour."

[Burgudzhi] In principle, this is normal. Each stage calls for its own leader. The main point is for the mainstay, the backbone, the idea to endure. To be sure, I would like to participate in the creation of the laws of our republic to ensure that this is carried out on an adequately professional level. What about later? How am I to know how things will turn out later? Maybe I will be able to acquire land and work on it. Whether or not, I am the son of a peasant, and I still have not been separated from it....

Frolov Pays Visit to Vinnitsa Oblast

PM1009133090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[S. Kolesnikov and M. Odinets report: "Frank Conversation"]

[Text] The visit to Vinnitsa Oblast by I.T. Frolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chief editor of PRAVDA, began with a meeting with PRAVDA readers.

Party workers, higher education teachers, and primary organization party secretaries assembled at the Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom [oblast committee]. A frank conversation was held about the course of perestroyka in the country, the state of affairs in the party, and PRAVDA's role in the stabilization of society. The meetings with readers will be continued during I.T. Frolov's tour of rayons of the oblast. A.P. Nekhayevskiy, first secretary of Vinnitsa Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, took part in the meetings with readers.

Ukraine International Symposium Views 1932 Famine

LD0809165590 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] At an international symposium in the Ukraine the participants have for the first time discussed in detail a major tragedy in the history of the republic populated by 52 million people: a famine among farmers in 1932-1933. Thousands of well-off farmers and their families were resettled by force in almost inaccessible areas of Siberia. Those who stayed put had all their grain confiscated. A document adopted at the forum by historians, writers, and journalists of this country, the United States, Poland and Canada, describe the tragedy as genocide. The results of the barbarous inhuman policy pursued by Stalin's regime.

Ukrainian Leader Views Commonwealth Guidelines

LD1009131790 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] The joint session of the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation ended in Moscow.

Main questions included the transition to market relations and the drafting of the Union treaty.

Ukrainian television interviewed Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

We offer excerpts from the interview:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] (?How do you see the future Union treaty?)

[Kravchuk] Although I have repeatedly expressed my view on this topic, I would like to stress my position once again since this is an extraordinarily important question. These views are not merely my own; these views have been discussed, and, as far as I know, they coincide to a certain degree with the positions held by other Union republics.

First, we do not intend to create a unitarian state but a common wealth of free, sovereign, socialist states. This is a most principled and important thesis, considering economic, political, national, state, and legal situations prevailing today in our country.

We must proceed from the premise that the Union, as such, can exist only as a union of sovereign states, and, as such, it can exercise only those sovereign powers delegated to it by republics themselves. This would amount to a full and unrestricted sovereignty for each republic. The Union and its ruling bodies will derive its powers from the mandates delegated to them by the state republics.

The Union will be formed from bottom to top. If a republic delegates certain powers—this is the next important point—it in no way restricts its sovereignty. Delegating in itself represents a republic's sovereign right, especially through organs created by the republic itself.

The Union organs will be created on two principles:

First, on the authorization principle, when the republic delegates its representatives to the Union's organs, something similar to the current council of the Federation, which is made up of heads and presidents of all the Union republics. This is the principle of forming governments along a federal line.

The next thing is that interpretation of the Union treaty will be concrete and precise, particularly on delegated powers. Any broad interpretation will not be allowed. The constituent republics will be equal, with equal rights, regardless of their size.

Everything will begin at the republics level; they are to be regarded as the basis of life. Each republic will exercise full rights for republican property, full rights for everything on Earth, for income and profits. The republic itself decides what to do with them; it delegates powers upward and provides necessary costs for their implementation. All this, I would like to stress, is a most essential moment in the organization and content [of the Union].

And a yet another moment: The joint session also dealt with whether a Union constitution will be needed. There were views that the Union treaty will, allegedly, be able to function as a constitution for the whole commonwealth. Only Union republics will have constitutions.

By the way, as you probably remember, the 1921 Constitution consisted of two documents: the declaration on founding the USSR and the treaty on instituting the USSR. But, in the later ones, and especially in the latest, it greatly departed from them. At the session we did not work out the final documents; we merely formulated a statement, stepped closer to the evaluation and analysis, and paved a way for further work. The next stage will begin after this one is completed.

I would like to stress that the Union treaty itself will be simple, resting on the agreements between republics, on the transfer of ideas. In other words, a huge amount of work currently is in hand on concluding all agreements with republics, and later the Union will start growing, as will our political and economic commonwealth. And may I underline yet another point: The Union treaty will only become a law after it is ratified by the republics' Supreme Soviets. It is very important to delimit the powers to be exercised by the Union and the republics jointly, and the rest does not need to be put in precise terms. Why? Some are inclined to think that the inclusion of precise terms means to deprive republics of powers. There is no need for this. If the republic delegates six or seven fields, then everything else remains under its own jurisdiction. There is no need to underline it once more because such underlining would mean a restriction of political and economic rights of the republics, whereas the republic clearly delegates only certain powers.

In my view, it is necessary to write into the Union treaty the following points: juridical guarantees not only for delegating powers but also for recalling them if something goes wrong, and a guarantee for full secession from the Union. There must be a mechanism for this. The current Constitution also has an article on the republics' right to secede, but there is no mechanism. The new treaty must include all these points.

Generally speaking, a huge amount of work has to be done during a longer period. We have to start with this task today, but I am unsure whether we will be able to draw up and adopt this treaty at an early date. [end recording]

Donetsk Party Conference Begins Second Stage

PM1109104390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Sep 90 First Edition p 2

[Dispatch by correspondent B. Glotov: "Second But Not Last"]

[Text] The second stage of the Donetsk City Party Conference began in a nervous atmosphere. Why? Only about 600 delegates (that is approximately slightly more than half) gathered in the auditorium and 44 of those who did not come had left the CPSU.

The question immediately arose: Were the Communists entitled to hold the conference if there was no quorum to take decisions on the questions on the agenda? In particular there was talk of repealing one of the points of the resolution on the abolition of the party gorkom [city committee] apparatus and its replacement with a council of secretaries and on the election of a new party gorkom—a resolution adopted earlier at the first stage of the conference before the 28th CPSU Congress. But First Secretary G. Onishchuk tried to persuade those present that they must begin the work of the conference today inasmuch as more people were hardly likely to gather next time. It was decided to discuss all questions on the agenda except for the election of a new gorkom—that was deferred until the next stage of the conference, which it was planned to hold in two weeks' time.

Why did many delegates fail to come to the conference? The speakers rightly criticized the party gorkom bureau for being alienated from the grass-roots party masses, as a result of which the thin thread connecting it with the primary echelons in the city party organization—and extremely complex processes are taking place there now—has been broken. Communists, particularly at the mines, are handing in their party cards and many people, it is said here, have "frozen" their party membership—they are not handing in their cards but have been failing to pay their membership dues for several consecutive months. At some mines the labor collectives have decided to remove party committees from enterprises' territories.

As we can see, the party organs' prestige in the city has been greatly shaken. To avoid losing it forever, out of the ordinary resolute measures are needed. The party committees, the plenum participants said, must come out of the trenches where they have obviously stayed too long, go to the labor collectives more boldly, and win other territories, so to speak, organizing primary organizations in residential areas and microrayons.... Virtually everyone agreed on one thing: The decision to abolish the party gorkom taken in May this year was hasty. The city's 80,000-strong detachment of Communists cannot remain without a leading organ.

All this would seem to be entirely justified. But many delegates remained perplexed. After all the result has been that at the second stage of the conference a minority of those gathered repealed a decision for which the majority had voted at the first stage in March.

But one delegate during a conversation in the corridor came out and said that the conference had in fact failed. Well, if we judge only by the level of preparation and the form in which it was held then yes, it did fail. But if you take the thrust of the talk and the questions and problems raised at the conference, then you can regard it as very fruitful.

In particular it ascertained the mutual relations between the leaders of the new soviet of people's deputies and the party gorkom. To this day they have formed no relations. Representatives of the soviet believe the party gorkom is constantly putting spokes in their wheels while the party leaders have accused the soviet of underestimating the political force that the city party organization represents in Donetsk. The new soviet and a powerful political force like the city party organization, the speakers stressed, must finally find a common language in order to embark together on the solution of the city's numerous urgent problems and act in the interests of Donetsk's inhabitants.

Ukraine Decision on Draftees Said Unconstitutional

PM1109104190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Sep 90 p 4

["Dialogue" report: "Are Ukrainians To Serve in Transcaucasus?"; first paragraph is readers' letter]

[Text] "Esteemed 'Dialogue.' We serve with the special-purpose troops in the Transcaucasus Military District. We escort transport in the conflict zone. We have read that our Supreme Soviet—we are from the Ukraine—adopted a decision that we will be withdrawn from hotbeds of interethnic conflicts within two months; that is, by the end of September. Time is running out, but the matter is still not clear. Our commanders maintain: You will go on serving as before.

"Nazarchuk and 13 other signatories, Tbilisi."

"Dialogue" turned to the USSR Ministry of Defense Press Center, where we were told that no specific measures are being taken to withdraw Ukrainian soldiers from the Transcaucasus, because the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet decision runs counter to the Fundamental Law—the USSR Constitution—and in such cases the Union ministry is naturally guided by Union legislation.

But how will this problem be resolved in the future? Obviously, the Ukrainian parliament must reach agreement with the Union government on the mechanism for realizing its decision. What steps has the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet taken in this direction? None as yet. The parliamentary commission to tackle this problem will begin its work only at the beginning of October, i.e. on the expiry of the period allocated by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet for the withdrawal of its guys from hotbeds of interethnic conflicts.

Lenin Memorial Dismantled in Ukraine

LD0809173890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1245 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] We have received some deplorable news from the town of Dolina in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast. The memorial to Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was dismantled there on 7 September in accordance with a decision made at a special session of the town soviet, in spite of a protest lodged by Kondratyuk, first secretary of the Rayon Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. It has been handed over to the army for storage. Leaders of the rayon executive committee and the town soviet and about 500 other people holding red-and-black and yellow-and-blue flags were present as the memorial was dismantled.

That same day members of Rukh, the Ukrainian Peasants' Democratic Party, removed a plaster sculpture of Lenin from its place and honour and destroyed party of its inscription. A tank and plaque marking the incorporation of the Ukraine's western oblasts in the body of the Soviet Ukraine have been dismantled.

Imported Machines Fail To Boost Knitwear Output

PM1009102790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Report by V. Pidchenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] "Vremya" reports on how the so-called "perestroyka credits" granted to our country by certain Western states are being utilized. Let me remind you that the government decided to use the more than 2.5 billion rubles [R] in foreign currency obtained in this way to buy machinery and equipment for the food and light industries. The aim was to increase the production of consumer goods and eliminate shortages. Unfortunately, the practical result is still a far cry from what was envisaged, despite the fact that a large part of the expensive equipment has already been bought and installed in our country. As before, there are still no goods, and returns from the expensive machinery are minimal, if any.

At the Kharkov knitwear association, for instance, the imported circular knitting machines are supposed to produce R12 of output per every R1 invested. The enterprise is now capable of producing additional knitwear worth R21 million for which there is a great demand. Well, that was the objective, but what is happening in practice?

[Pidchenko] This significant increase in output was planned here in connection with the commissioning of the latest imported equipment. Here they are, the knitting machines from the FRG and Spain. They were installed at the end of last year and the beginning of this year. They are excellent, but the association has not only not increased its output but, on the countrary, has run up a shortfall of 1.5 million sets of men's, ladies', and children's knitwear articles during the current year. We were told that raw material suppliers are to blame for this—the Lvov cotton plant, the Korosten cotton spinning factory, and also traditional Romanian partners. They have failed to deliver 310 tonnes of cotton yarn to Kharkov. An emergency measure had to be taken—operations on a number of Soviet-made machines had to be suspended.

How long have your machines been idle?

[N.D. Chernyak, assistant foreman] This is the second week.

[N.V. Solyanik, knitting machine operator] Our wages have shrunk. We are unable to achieve the monthly quota. As a result of the stoppages we are losing about R100 out of our wages.

[Pidchenko] The contracts concluded for raw material deliveries for next year total only 75 percent of the requirement. What does this mean?

[S.A. Alyabyeva, chief engineer] It means that consumers who have had to put up with empty store shelves will not receive a further 7 million knitwear articles.

[A. N. Chaplanov, director general] Raw material suppliers are playing a cat-and-mouse game with us. They seek to sell the bulk of their raw materials for foreign currency, and they offer us raw materials at hiked prices. As a result we are forced to produce goods at contract prices in order to cover our prime costs, and this leads to price increases for knitwear articles which are already in short supply.

This is the paradoxical situation which has developed at the Kharkov knitwear association.

[Unidentified correspondent] This situation is not just paradoxical, it is depressing. It appears that the imported equipment has swallowed up raw materials intended for the older production lines, as it were. There is no increase in output, and furthermore some staff have no work. In short, even the Western credits have not done us any good.

Possibly Allergenic SRV Goods Withdrawn

PM1109102990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Nikolay Lisovenko under "Direct Line" rubric: "Allergy For Sale"]

[Text] Donetsk—On instructions from V. Trach, chief State Health Inspector in Donetsk Oblast, Vietnamese mats, blinds, bread baskets, bags, and other goods made from natural materials have been temporarily withdrawn from sale in stores in the Donbass.

In constant demand, these goods from Vietnam have sold for hundreds of thousands of rubles in this mining region. Sales had been constantly increasing—until this summer, when a strange relationship between the purchases and allergic illnesses among people was suddenly discovered.

Research institutes in the Ukraine have studied the problem and reached the conclusion that some goods made from Vietnamese natural materials are contaminated with a fungus that can, under certain conditions, become pathogenic and cause allergic reactions and other painful symptoms.

The situation is now being thoroughly researched by Leningrad scientists from the All-Union Center for the Study of Mycoses. They will soon issue recommendations as to what should become of those goods already bought and those in storage at trade depots.

Crimean Deputies Demand Republic Status

LD1009145190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] We have just received a report from Simferopol: a session of the Crimean Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has adopted a statement. It speaks of the necessity to abolish as unconstitutional the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium of 30 June 1945, and also the corresponding USSR law, on the change of the Crimean ASSR into an oblast. The abolition of the repressive acts will provide an opportunity, the deputies consider, to restore historical justice and Crimea's standing as a state, which should be determined according to the expression of the will of the Peninsula's population.

The adoption of the document, addressed to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the RSFSR, was preceded by disputes over both its content and its form. The deputies also endorsed the activities of the organizational committee which they formed to draw up legal, economic, and historical grounds for the future status of the peninsula, and instructed it to continue this work.

Crimean Tartars Return Without State Assistance

PM1109110890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Sep 90

[Report by V. Plotnikov and G. Bulanov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] According to the latest information, between 330,000 and 350,000 Tartars want to return to their historic homeland in the Crimea. Let me remind you that during the years of the Stalinist terror, some 200,000 Crimean Tartars were deported from the Crimea in a single night. How is the process of the return of the Crimean Tartars progressing after the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Declaration recognizing the repressions against people subjected to forcible resettlement as unlawful and criminal, and guaranteeing their rights?

[Reporter] When the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the declaration on the restoration of the rights of the Crimean Tartars and other peoples who were subjected to repressions, the deputies themselves probably had no idea what problems would ensue as a result of the gap between the political declaration and legal, economic, and organizational measures.

Consequently, thousands of Crimean Tartars who have come back home find themselves without housing, without registration papers, and without work. Pickets have appeared. This encampment is located in Yalta near the building of the city soviet executive committee.

What are your main demands?

[Kurtmulla Datly] Our main demands are to be allowed to return home, to be allocated plots of land, and to be given autonomous status.

[Reporter] As for your return home, a declaration has already been adopted.

[Ilmi Chumaly] The declaration is not being implemented. There are many declarations and statements in the press and on television. We have come here voluntarily, at our own expense. We want to build at our own expense....

[Reporter] So people, tired of waiting for the government's help, are prepared to resettle themselves. So where is the problem?

[A.I. Balagura, deputy chairman of the Crimean Oblast Soviet Executive Committee] It is not just a question of allocating plots of land. For each plot of land there must also be construction materials, jobs, facilities for children, and everything that people need to be able to live. The Crimean Oblast is objectively unready to cope such a massive and unorganized influx of people.

[Reporter] Where is assistance to come from? This question has been examined by the USSR Government.

[Balagura] The Council of Ministers resolution which was adopted quite recently, about a month ago, contains specific instructions to the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], the Ministry of Geology, and others authorities.

[Reporter] Meanwhile the situation is heating up. In a number of cases, Crimean Tartars, egged on by extremists, have seized land and this, in turn, is evoking protests from the local population. Thus new problems are heaped onto old ones. As an emergency measure, the oblast soviet has made several thousand more plots of land available. But how far will these go? People are returning regardless of the rate planned from above.

Caucasus

Armenian Procuracy Party Organizations Dissolved

LD0709223890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2006 GMT 7 Sep 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The primary party organizations of the central apparatus of the Armenian Procuracy have been dissolved.

Armenian Parliament Institutes Newspaper

LD0709202590 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By ARMENPRES-TASS correspondent Gagik Milkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan September 7 TASS—The Armenian parliament has adjourned its session until Monday, vice president of the Armenian parliament Gagik Arutyunyan said today.

The parliament continues its work only in standing commission, determining priorities on a wide range of problems, which are expected to be discussed next week, he said.

Taking into account the situation in the republic, the formation of the new government becomes a priority, and the parliament on Monday will discuss a draft law on government and the structure of management, he said.

The parliament has instituted a parliamentary newspaper, "REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA." It will be published in Armenian.

According to the Armenian Interior Ministry, voluntary turning in of arms and ammunition in the republic continues. At the same time, continuing attacks on Armenian villages bordering on Azerbaijan, particularly in Zangezur, southern Armenia, are deteriorating the situation.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Under Pressure To Secede

PM1009085490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel V. Kaushanskiy under the "Direct Line" rubric: "One Ultimatum After Another"]

[Text] Yerevan—One of the themes under discussion at the Armenian Supreme Soviet session is "the withdrawal of the USSR Armed Forces from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and their deployment on the oblast border." It is hard to say how far the "democratic maneuvers" will actually help ease the tension. The position of all the interested sides is marked by rigidity and uncompromisingness. V. Movsisyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, stressed in a letter to the USSR president that he reserves the right to leave the CPSU Central Committee Politburo if the question of the NKAO's self-determination is not resolved in the near future.

It is already obvious now that the new Armenian parliament must take decisions today in conditions of increasing opposition pressure. In particular, the Pannational Union has accused the Armenian Pannational Movement of attempting to usurp power and insists that the Supreme Soviet session adopt a decision on the republic's secession from the Union.

In the frenzy of parliamentary and unparliamentary passions, the problem of the surrender of the weapons seized by militants, almost the most important problem today, has somehow been pushed into the background. Increasingly often the situation reports show blank spaces instead of figures. And carefully hidden guns can begin firing at any moment.

It is no coincidence then that the following news has come in from the neighboring republic: Radical circles of the Azerbaijan People's Front have decided to begin setting up mobile "self-defense detachments" numbering 150-200 men each.

Armenian Interior Ministry Reports Arms Return

NC0909114490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 8 Sep 90

["Statement by the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry"]

[Excerpts] Fifteen crimes took place in Armenia yesterday, 12 of them in Yerevan. [passage omitted] The work to recover and confiscate the arms, munition, and vehicles is continuing. In only one day considerable amount of munition—specifically one explosive (?device), 17 kilograms of explosive material, nine mines, four shells, nine grenades, as well as one home made rifle and other stolen equipment—has been returned to the internal affairs departments of Leninskiy and 26 Komissarov Rayons of Yerevan. Eight cars have been recovered and one crime has been solved.

Armenia-Azerbaijan Tension Continues on Border

Armenian Curfew Reduced

LD1109094990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0515 GMT 11 Sep 90

[Summary] The latest data from the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs show that over the last three days there have been only 35 infringements of the law in the republic, 17 of which took place in Yerevan.

As a result of the apparent stabilization of the situation, the curfew has been reduced by two hours and is currently in operation from 0000-0600.

However, alarming news is still being received daily from Nagorno-Karabakh. Republican newspapers today published material about the fact that Zoriy Balayan, USSR people's deputy from Nagorno-Karabakh, has announced a hunger strike in Moscow. He has written a letter to the president of the USSR in which he claims that Nagorno-Karabakh is dying and that human rights are being violated.

At a news conference in the Armenian Supreme Soviet yesterday it was stated that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is threatening to destabilize the situation in Armenia and is delaying the process of handing over weapons by armed formations.

General Denounces Leaflets

PM0709151190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Major General A. Normanskiy, chief of a USSR KGB special department directorate, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy; place and date not given; published under the heading "Warning: Provocation"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction and last paragraph is an editorial conclusion]

[Text] First a few words about the events that preceded our conversation. Leaflets brought from Stepanakert have been distributed; they are bellicose in tone and harsh in their assessment of the country's leadership and representatives of the military headquarters of the state of emergency zone in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and adjacent regions of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. In principle, they could be ignored: This kind of trash is commonplace in the hotspots of the Transcaucasus. But the authors of these leaflets.... One of them is signed by the "Salamander" organization, while the initiators of another hide behind the obscure signature "activists of the Artsakh movement." On the other hand, two are briefly and bombastically signed "The Officers for Perestroyka Committee." I was unable to find even one officer from this organization in the NKAO and surrounding area. But the leaflets have turned up in the barracks of Internal Troop subunits in one way or another. The provocative appeals they contain are addressed to officers and enlisted men. People with weapons at their disposal. Essentially, the interests of state security are affected. Anyway, I thought to myself, what kind of officers are these who urge soldiers to "righteous struggle" and explain that they, the soldiers, have been given the role of "butchers and occupationists regarding the people of the NKAO." Weighed down by anxiety and doubt, I stepped into the office of Major General A. Normanskiy, clutching the aforementioned "appeals."

[Kaushanskiy] Aleksandr Ivanovich, in my opinion, this clearly affects the interests of your department. I have been unable to meet the leaders of the "Officers' Committee." Perhaps you could help me to find them?

[Normanskiy] These leaflets have alarmed us, too. After all, they appeal to people who are armed at a time when the situation is tense and people's nerves are extremely fraught.

[Kaushanskiy] So who is compiling these leaflets and slipping them into the barracks?

[Normanskiy] Allow me to ask you a question instead. Something to think about, so to speak. If you remove the signatures of all these "salamanders," "activists," and "officers-for-perestroyka" from the leaflets, what do you notice, as a reader?

[Kaushanskiy] Their common tone, similarity of phraseology, and the spirit of hatred for the military that makes all these creations alike....

[Normanskiy] Exactly. And I cannot help you to meet the leaders of this latter-day "Officers' Committee" for one simple reason: There is not a single officers' organization among the troops stationed in the NKAO—or anywhere else, for that matter—which corrupts servicemen and urges them to disobey orders and engage in armed struggle for the liberation of Artsakh.

[Kaushanskiy] It smacks of the legend of Lieutenant Kizhe. But what about the "committee's" statement regarding an alleged hunger strike by servicemen in protest against being sent to the NKAO? And an entire company's refusal to "carry out criminal instructions" issued by the military leadership of the state of emergency zone?

[Normanskiy] These are all total lies, but this latter-day Lieutenant Kizhe is, nevertheless, not as harmless as his classical double. The authors of these leaflets have very specific targets in mind—they are not aiming at the people on the squares. Their aim is obvious: to discredit the military headquarters, the military, and their leaders, secure the withdrawal of Internal Troops from the autonomous oblast's territory at any price, and, ultimately, destabilize the situation. And we can expect more outrages from criminals of every hue. This is, in fact, made clear in the "Salamander" leaflet lying in front of me: "The only way to beat the enemy is to turn his own weapons against him. Rise up in partisan struggle. The time for a holy war has come. We are left with no other course."

[Kaushanskiy] And what is the reaction in the barracks?

[Normanskiy] Diametrically opposite to that expected. It has simply made people more aware of who's who. They are not going to be misled by any mythical committees. Especially as there is no letup—not even for one day—in acts of provocation against military servicemen. Hardly had KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carried a report on 1 September about a line-unit detail coming under attack in the NKAO and an arms cache being discovered near Askeran than I received another report from Stepanakert. Another two caches had been found. One with weapons and the other with medicines. Who is responsible for these caches? Those very same forces which have stretched their imagination to create the "Officers' for Perestroyka Committee" out of thin air. These forces are totally indifferent to the fact that blood is being shed and that real, rather than mythical officers in the Internal Troops have left their families in every corner of the country, are subjected to threats, and risk their lives by clearing mines from roads and guarding installations. Their leaflets make absolutely no mention of this. They also fail to mention something else. Namely, the willingness of the military to go to the assistance of Armenians and Azerbaijanis alike. The people of Karabakh are perfectly well aware that the soldiers will always share their last crust of bread, help to protect livestock against bandits, do everything possible to ensure that vitally important freight gets through, and shield others from flying bullets. Members of the military have a greater rather than a lesser interest in seeing peace come to the long-suffering land of Karabakh. Everyone is incredibly tired: the Internal Troops and our own special troops. But there is a long way to go before the criminals are completely disarmed. Incidentally, a rebel group led by someone called Samvel Grigoryan has managed to infiltrate Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. What is this adventurer looking for there—new victims?

[Kaushanskiy] I think readers would be interested to know what exactly your people's work consists of in such a fraught region of the country. Surely military counterintelligence experts have more important things to do than perform the function of law enforcement bodies?

[Normanskiy] The root of the evil lies in fratricidal discord that is destroying the economy and condemning thousands upon thousands of people to hardship. We have just one task: to bring peace and calm to the region. We use our own professional methods to achieve this: We bring to light and prevent extremist actions; ensure the safekeeping of weapons, ammunition, and explosives; uncover lethal arsenals; and turn over to the law those criminal elements whose path is strewn with the corpses of innocent people. That, in short, is our area of responsibility. Our officers work in the closest possible collaboration with the public prosecutor's office, Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies, and healthy forces among the public. We do not file away the information we obtain: It is only valuable if used for prevention. For example, on the basis of our information, Internal Troop personnel in the NKAO recently prevented quite a major arms theft operation. This is by no means an isolated example. But surely it is also our job to protect the good name of officers and enlisted men from slander, insult, and rumor? Incidentally, the bullets aimed at officers and men in the Internal Troops also frequently whistle over the heads of people in my profession. We too are in the firing line, and counterintelligence personnel have made an excellent showing when repelling attacks by militants on innocent villages. Tagir Abdulov, a brave, level-headed member of one of the KGB special departments, was recently presented for commendation.

[Kaushanskiy] Aleksandr Ivanovich, all that remains now is to thank you for the opportunity to obtain this first-hand information.

[Normanskiy] I will be glad to help you again, although you do not write about us very often. You can keep the leaflets as a souvenir. If nothing else, they are an example of the "gifts" we receive from our invisible "wellwishers."

As I was leaving the general's office, I couldn't help recalling the ancient saw: "Beware of Greeks bearing gifts." There is no need to fear the Karabakh "Greeks" slipping their "gifts" into the barracks. There is too much honor there. But vigilance certainly does not go amiss.

'Little Hope' of Settlement

LD0809112190 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 8 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Igor Gvritishvili]

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—The decisive measures by the new Armenian leadership to halt the activity of the "Armenian National Army" brought about a relative lull on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

No gun shots and grenade explosions are heard. However, the sanguine view that the general stabilisation of the situation in the region is the matter of the immediate future is contested by many as the root cause of the conflict between the two republics—the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh—remains.

Recent news coming from this autonomous region on Azerbaijan territory with the predominantly Armenian population show that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has exacerbated.

On September 1, unidentified persons discharged petroleum products into the water intake from which water is supplied to Stepanakert, the regional centre. As a result, half of the city population was left without water. Stepanakert is often without electricity as a result of power cuts.

According to Armenian Interior Ministry reports, the Azerbaijan authorities detained five aircraft of the Armenian Civil Aviation Department without any reasons and explanations on September 4 and another six planes on September 5. Telephone, telegraph and teleprinter communication was cut off completely in Nagorno-Karabakh.

A telegram sent to Moscow from Stepanakert assesses the developments as a provocation on the part of the Azerbaijan leadership against the Armenian population of the region.

Armenian Communist Party Chief Vladimir Movsisyan sent an appeal to President Mikhail Gorbachev, saying that the Armenian population in Azerbaijan is subjected to terror, blackmail and power pressure. Movsisyan maintains that the economic, political, transport and information blockade of Nagorno-Karabakh and adjoining Armenian villages is continued.

In his appeal, Movsisyan threatened to quit the Soviet Communist Party Politburo if the Soviet president did not take radical measures as soon as possible to stabilise the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

In an interview with Soviet television, Colonel-General Yuriy Shatalin, commander of the USSR Interior Ministry Troops, assessed this statement as an attempt by the Armenian communists' leader to evade the responsibility for what is happening.

A genuine psychological war broke out between the leaders of both republics, attempting to solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh without account for mutual interests.

The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet demanded that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet president take undelayed measures to ensure the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the republic.

Simultaneously, the Azerbaijan Parliament suspended the election campaign in Nagorno-Karabakh, blaming Armenian nationalists for creating serious difficulties in organising and conducting the elections.

Observers believe that the bid by the Azerbaijan and Armenian leaders to solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh by methods of the power and psychological pressure and their simultaneous spurning of direct and constructive talks on this problem leave little hope that the crisis in the region can be settled even within the next few years.

More Weapons Seized on Border

PM1009092290 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Colonel V. Kaushanskiy from Yerevan "yesterday" under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Weapon 'Ruses'"]

[Text] It appears that the stormy atmosphere that gathered over Yerevan in recent days is gradually beginning to subside. People are talking about the marked changes for the better as they wait in line for food and at news kiosks, in the public garden by Theater Square, and from the rostrum of the republic Supreme Soviet session. It was stated 1 September at a routine sitting of the session that from Monday 3 September the operation of the curfew is to be reduced to between midnight and 0500. The guerrillas' arsenals are beginning to "run low." According to Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs statistics, 51 firearms have been uncovered and seized, including 12 assault rifles, plus about 5,000 units of ammunition and one tonne of explosives.

Incidentally, last Saturday was quite rich in "unusual situations" during arms seizures. A group of Armenian Pannational Movement representatives, numbering about 50 people, armed with assault rifles and hunting shotguns, descended on a small restaurant opposite the headquarters of the Yerevan garrison in Victory Park. According to available information, the proprietor of this fairly prosperous establishment was maintaining Armenian National Army guerrillas and the "Samvela" group. Six people were detained and a pistol with ammunition and a large sum of money were seized. In passing, so to speak, three vehicles of different makes and without number plates near the restaurant were seized.

Approximately one hour later, a job was found for our combat engineers also. Senior Lieutenant Mankovskiy and his men were invited to the former Armenian National Army Headquarters for bomb disposal work. The professionals rose to the occasion and on the same day destroyed one block of ammonite and 20 kg of loose ammonite, and also three mines from a 120-mm mortar.

Armenian National Army detachments have voluntarily surrendered their weapons in Shamshadinskiy, Sevanskiy, Stepanavanskiy, and Ashtarakskiy Rayons. But there are alarming factors as well. First, automatic rifles are still not being surrendered. The guerrillas are trying first and foremost to get rid of weapons that are unsuitable for use. Second, as Colonel A. Sarkisov, officer in charge of the Transcaucasian Military District headquarters operations group, noted in our conversation, there is a notable "overflow" of weapons confiscated from and surrendered by the Armenian National Army to organs of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs or to the Armenian Pannational Movement's "granaries," while the army's stores, which have at various times been visited by raiders, remain empty. Thus the true owners of the weapons, servicemen of the Soviet Army, are expressing concern.

This concern has intensified still further yesterday and today, because the surrendering of arms has virtually ceased. This means that things are still a long way away from real peace. Automatic salvos continue to thunder on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. On 30 August, guerrillas from among those who have not yet laid down their weapons attacked the village of Geshakend in Tauzskiy Rayon. The following day some population centers in Kazakhskiy, Kedabekskiy, and Kubatlinskiy Rayons were attacked. And really alarming news came from Megri City. Here a bold attack was perpetrated by criminals on servicemen of an Internal Troops batallion. Three assault rifles were stolen and an officer was wounded.

The Azerbaijan side continues to protect itself from terrorist encroachments by political measures. An Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet session adopted a resolution "On Armenia's Armed Aggression on the Borders of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic." One clause of this document contains a request to the UN general secretary to circulate the said document among members of the world community and to promote the proper appraisal of the terrorists' aggressive actions by world public opinion. Passions continue to rage over the seizing by armed groupings of the Azerbaijani village of Kyarki in Ilichevskiy Rayon, Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet demanded that the president of the country take measures to restore Azerbaijan's jurisdiction over "the territory of Kyarki Soviet that has been annexed by Armenia, and liberate the village from Armenian extremists."

Such is the situation which compels one, unfortunately, to state that there are no olive branches in sight. Today also, fearing attacks, women and children from the border villages are leaving their homes, farm work is paralyzed, and the movement of trains from Barkhudarly station into Armenia has petered out. Today also weapons in the hands of those who do not wish to admit defeat are not falling silent, as they continue to flex their muscles on the border, displaying the impotence and cruelty of a dangerous beast at bay.

Tension Mounting in NKAO

LD1009180490 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] Baku September 10 AZERINFORM-TASS—Tension is mounting again in Nagorno-Karabakh. During the past two days, Armenian militants and young hoodlums occupied the buildings of the district communist party committees in the district centres of Askeran, Gadrut and Martuni and damaged the monuments of Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, in a school and the central square in Gadrut.

The Azeri village of Divanalylar was attacked with the aim to oust the local Azeri population.

Interior security troops detained 19 militants.

Armed gangs keep under fire border villages high up in the mountains in the Zangelan, Lachi and Kelbadzhar districts of Azerbaijan. On Sunday night, two shells exploded a hundred meters outside the facilities of a military unit. As luck would have it, nobody was injured.

Hooligan sallies and acts of provocation against the staffs of the military commandant's offices compel servicemen to retaliate.

Azerbaijanis Occupy Building

NC0909115990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Unattributed report: "Clouds Are Gathering Over Artsakh, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO"]

[Excerpts] With an enviable (?ability) the Azerbaijani authorities are exploiting the state of emergency situation virtually to eliminate Nagorno-Karabakh as an automous Armenian oblast. The occupation of the building housing the Martuninskiy Rayon Party Committee and the executive committee of Martuninskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies was yet another step in eliminating the remnants of Soviet power in Nagorno-Karabakh. The incident took place on the evening of 7 September.

The population of Askeran has temporarily frustrated a similar attempt in Askeranskiy Rayon with the assistance of the Internal Troops.

The aim of these [word indistinct] actions is to install the so-called organizational bureaus after the example in Gadrutskiy and Shaumyanovskiy Rayons.

The incident has sharply exacerbated the situation in the oblast and there is the danger that it could spin out of control. The Armenian population of NKAO is well aware that the present leadership of Azerbaijan has decided to appear decisive in it intention to eliminate the NKAO and thus win the assistance of the Azerbaijani people in this venture on the eve of the elections in that republic.

The people of Artsakh are resolved not to let themselves become pawns in the government's political intrigues for the fate of the people. Their very existence on the lands of their ancestors is in question. The people do not pin their hopes on the intervention of the Union Monitoring and Observation Commission, which in NKAO is dubbed as Unmonitoring and Sharply Sidelong-Observation Commission. And that is understandable. Over this entire period Chairman Foteyev has been to the oblast far fewer times than the flying saucers which have become a frequent occurence here.

There is no doubt that in the coming days, or even sooner, they would attempt to create organizational bureaus in Mardakertskiy Rayon and Stepanakert City as well, thus resolving all the problems: That is, the Armenian autonomous formation will exist no more. In this regard many urgent cables have been sent to numerous Union organs, though people have ceased to believe that their voice will be heard and those cables will on the whole reach their destination. It is no coincidence that this is being done on the eve of holidays.

One could definitely argue—and there is no other explanation—that Artsakh has been sacrificed to Azerbaijan. This is what the 28 November 1989 infamous decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet led to [words indistinct]. The republican organizational committee which was supposed to reinstate the oblast administration organs is shamefully endorsing even the elimination of the lowest level of popular administration. And this is being carried out with the assistance of the Internal Troops of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry.

It is hard to predict how the incidents will develop. This information was given to ARMENPRES at around 1200 and it is highly possible that the communication lines might be severed again.

USSR People's Deputy Lyudmila Arutyunyan is in the oblast and she has witnessed the aforesaid actions of the Azerbaijani leadership. Yesterday she met the women's aktiv of Stepanakert.

According to the news received by an ARMENPRES correspondent from unofficial sources, after hearing about the inflammatory act by Azerbaijan, the people of Martuninskiy began to gather in Martuni on the morning of 7 September. The roads were blockaded. The people demanded that the representatives from Baku and their assistants in military uniforms leave the building housing the party rayon committee and its executive committee. Colonel Ovchinnikov, interim acting commandant of the state of emergency area, arrived at the scene of the incident. The situation was extremely tense. Ovchinnokov withdrew his subunits. The Azerbaijani representatives in the building were forced to evacuate it. The local employees have now reoccupied the building.

The outrageous lawlessness is continuing in Stepanakert airport. Yesterday, 7 September, the airplanes which had arrived from Yerevan were again detained, including the YAK-40 belonging to the Lithuanian civil aviation administration. [passage omitted]

Apparently, such a shameful incident could happen today as well. Evidently, the Azerbaiajni leadership is intentionally provoking the Armenians to resort to illegal actions so as to justify their claims about the complex situation in NKAO, a situation which supposedly is not conducive to the election of local soviets there. Only time will show what further steps they will take.

Negotiations on Flights to NKAO Unproductive

NC0909080890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 90

[Text] Despite an agreement reached and promises made by USSR Internal Affairs Minister Bakatin, the situation concerning flights from Yerevan to Stepanakert has deteriorated.

Five of the airplanes that arrived in Stepanakert from Yerevan on 4 September were impounded, with the same thing happening the next day: Six out of eleven airplanes that flew to Stepanakert were impounded.

Negotiations with the officials who arrived from Baku produced no results. They said that the order to impound the airplanes came from the commandant, but Commandant Ovchinnikov was absent from Stepanakert for an unspecified period. When he returned he blamed the Azerbaijani Organizational Committee headed by Polyanichko.

Four out of six impounded airplanes returned to Yerevan late yesterday night. Two of them will not be operational for a long time because they were damaged by the soldiers.

Georgian Official Cited on Legislation Amendments

LD0709225190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1317 GMT 7 Sep 90

[By TASS corespondent Eduard Ediberidze]

[Text] Tbilisi 7 Sep (TASS)—The Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet today published a decree on the introduction of amendments and additions to several legislative bills of that republic in the Transcaucasus. Its aim is to strengthen the guarantees of citizens' voting rights during the election campaign that has begun here for deputies mandates to the future Georgian parliament.

"The introduction of amendments and additions to the legislative bills was called for by the adoption of a new law on the elections of deputies to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, explained Vakhtang Kvaratskhelia, secretary of the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet. After all, for the first time in Soviet practice, they are taking place here on a multiparty basis according to a combined majority and proportional system. This means that half of the 250 deputies are to be elected to parliament in single-seat constituencies, and the other half according to all-Georgian party lists on the basis of equal representation. Incidentally, for the first time, the Central Electoral Commision has registered 35 political parties and public organizations which are taking part in the elections.

Amendments and additions have also been made to Georgia's criminal code and the republican code for administrative offenses, Vakhtang Kvaratskhelia continued. In particular they make considerably more harsh the penalties for impeding a citizen's use of his right to vote and for disseminating evidence which is known to be false, and which besmirches the honor and dignity of a candidate deputy or participant in party elections. Fines for interfering in the work of the electoral commissions and for campaigning on behalf of or against a candidate deputy on election day have been increased.

Significant amendments and additions have also been made to Georgia's civil and procedural code. It clearly stipulates all the nuances connected with making and examining complaints about the violation of citizens voting rights.

Georgian Military Road Undergoing Restoration

PM1009114590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Georgian Military Road Museum"]

[Excerpt] Vladikavkaz—Notices inscribed "Restoration work in progress" have appeared on the famous Georgian military road. The comprehensive program of its reconstruction drawn up by North Ossetian and Georgian specialists provides for improvements to the road bed and the construction of bridges and anti-mudflow reinforcements. But the chief thing is the restoration of the unique ancient monuments to be met on the 208 km route of the highway beyond the clouds.

Opened in 1799, the Georgian military road played a big role in the development of economic and cultural ties between Russia, the North Caucasus, and the Transcaucasus. [passage omitted]

Central Asia

Leninabad, Osh, Fergena Sign Cooperation Accord

LD1009092890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] A treaty aimed at strengthening good-neighborly relations between the border oblasts of three Union republics has been signed by the Leninabad, Osh, and Fergana Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies. This document envisages the activization of economic, cultural, and trade relations between the neighboring oblasts. The inhabitants of this region have been linked, since time immemorial, not only by common customs and national traditions but also by waterways and pastures. For this reason the current tendency toward an isolation of national homes is especially negative.

The treaty on cooperation is called upon to lay the foundations for mutually advantageous relations under the conditions of regional financial autonomy and to warn about the possibility of interethnic conflicts.

The first step on the road toward implementing the treaty is the abrogation of the bans on the import and export of agricultural produce between the three oblasts—which restores the traditional turnover of trade. The inhabitants of Leninabad Oblast may now trade in fruit and vegetables at Fergana and Osh markets. The same right has been given to the neighboring collective and state farms and consumer cooperatives.

It has been decided to mark a day of friendship of the peoples of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kirghizia annually, at the end of August.

Kirghiz Communists Complain of Congress Fix

PM0709102390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 90 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Razgulyayev article under the rubric "Notes on the Second Stage of the 19th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress": "They Did Not Hear Everyone"]

[Text] Kirghiz SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—In our troubled times, filled with almost continuous sittings, sessions, and television broadcasts of these sittings, yet another phenomenon has appeared—congresses divided into two stages. Many republic communist parties, including the Kirghiz Communist Party, have taken this road.

There is reason in having two-stage congresses, and a most serious one. I have repeatedly witnessed arguments and insults after the end of debates on such measures. No matter how much the time for a congress was extended, all those wanting to speak still did not succeed in doing so. And on the other hand, sometimes such original ideas were generated during discussion that it was impossible to adopt them without a new and wide discussion among the masses. And so it came to pass that when heated arguments broke out at the 19th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress and sharp criticism of the republic's communists' action program was voiced, the delegates unanimously decided to extend their plenary powers and reassemble—after further examination of the document in the primary party organizations and after the 28th CPSU Congress.

The two and one-half months separating the stages of the congress passed in sharp debates. During this time I spent time in various parts of the republic and I saw people arguing heatedly—and not only Communists—about the main sections of the proposed action program and their native region's future. Opinions clashed most sharply over three main problems—renewal of the party, interethnic relations, and transition to the market.

Our everyday life has become so politicized that, it would seem, exclusively theoretical questions which until very recently used to concern only the "bosses" have now become a subject of discussion for one and all. If the two versions of the action program are put side by side—the first one and the one worked out by the commission—the radical difference between them is evident. The introduction has been completely reworked, and the sections on the Communists' policy in the soviets and on links with new sociopolitical organizations have been added to. The guidelines on party renewal and on its socioeconomic policy and activity in the sphere of interethnic relations have been altered considerably. In a word, as A. Masaliyev, first secretary of Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, noted, this document has absorbed everything that is constructive and valuable.

As E. Duysheyev, president of the commission, reported to the congress, the commission took account of hundreds of proposals in its work. But did it manage to convert their sizable quantity into quality in the prepared document? This question arose right at the very beginning of congress debate.

"What party renewal are we talking about?" A. Akayev, president of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences, asked polemically from the rostrum. "After all, in essence the whole of the old Central Committee structure is being preserved intact. We are changing neither the forms of our work, nor the principles of party leadership."

The academician did not broach the "hot" theme for nothing. The point is that 18 months ago he survived the purgatory of the USSR people's deputies elections. He was nominated not from public organizations but from a territorial okrug. And during the election campaign he once again became convinced of how much our party system has ossified and of how poorly adapted it is to waging real political struggle and opposing the more active destructive forces.

Since then the Communist deputy has often spoken at plenums and contributed businesslike proposals. In particular, on the assimilation of territorial structures by party members, and on the gradual transfer of their activities to their place of residence, to the place where real power is developing today—the power of the soviets.

"It is a pity that we are wasting valuable time on idle chatter," A. Akayev ended his speech. "And we are thereby giving free rein to those who want to 'preserve' the old and keep the state party unchanged."

In their speeches Ye. Korolkevich, a teacher from Alamedinskiy Rayon, and B. Ryspayev, chairman of the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, talked about this danger being completely real. For a while yet it will be very difficult for radical ideas, of which there are now so many down below, at the primary party organizations level, to force their way up, the delegates think.

A sharp debate over the transition to the market also developed at the congress. For the time being there is too much that is unclear and imprecise here.

"In the action program," said K. Zhalgayev, director of the "Pogranichnik" Dairy Produce Farm in At-Bashinskiy Rayon, "mention is made of market relations. But so far the advantages and disadvantages of these new economic links are completely unknown to us."

The thick fog on the road to the market and the potholes and ravines hidden along it were also talked about at the first stage of the congress and even earlier—at Central Committee plenums and Supreme Soviet sessions. In fact, for many years now the republic has been able to balance its budget only with the aid of a multimillion subsidy. The draft plan for next year not only fails to reduce this "aid," as strict market conditions demand, but even increases it severalfold.

"Just how are we going to carry on living?" Communists ask with good reason. "What will we tell people about our economy's prospects?"

Unfortunately, so far there is no clear answer to these questions either in the action program or in other congress documents. The delegates were hoping that someone from among the Council of Ministers leaders would address them, that economic experts would present them with an explanation of the situation. However, they heard only generalities and appeals.

Of course, none of the speakers could avoid giving attention to the Osh events. The interethnic clashes, which entailed a great number of casualties, not only caused a deep crack in the customary monolith of "friendship between the peoples." They also necessitated a fresh look at all party work, especially in the ideological sphere. Let's say honestly: The majority of party organizations had no means of countering the rallies, extremism, and nationalism. In a few days the fire of tragedy had literally reduced the "mighty" paper currency of our measures and plans to ashes. All their inefficacy, and at times simple uselessness, was laid bare.

So how will our ideologists work tomorrow? In the delegates' opinion, it largely depends on an accurate political assessment of the June events, honesty and the admission of mistakes, and the effectiveness of the measures undertaken. But that's just the point, that work to stabilize the situation in the republic's "hot spots" has once more revealed the inclination of certain leaders toward complacency, wishy-washy decisions, and slick assessments.

It took almost two months for the Central Committee and Council of Ministers to prepare a note on the Osh events. The Osh Obkom [oblast party committee] also took a long time getting ready. And when it had finished, the results left many people bewildered. It would seem that the culprits in the tragedy, which claimed over 200 lives, have not materialized. At any rate, the plenum expressed its full confidence in all bureau members.

This mistake, about which, incidentally, our newspaper wrote, has now been rectified: Two obkom secretaries have been sent to work in the economy. But again it is impossible not to call this decision excessively lenient and half-hearted. Time and again the question of Obkom First Secretary U. Sydykov's responsibility too is raised at plenums, meetings, and rallies. Won't they have to back down again, rescinding their own decisions?

Such inconsistency and uncertainty in conditions of a critical situation (and this is precisely how the republic is living now) are what primarily worry people. At the congress K. Khuriyev, director of "Naryngidroenergostroy," recounted with bitterness and pain that more and more representatives of the Russian-speaking population are leaving Kara-Kul, once the most cosmopolitan city in Kirghizia. First-rate specialists who built a cascade of the most economical hydroelectric stations in the world are moving away.

"People are losing faith in our words," K. Khuriyev concluded. "They need guarantees ensuring a peaceful life and work."

The construction chief's concern is understandable. Not only he thinks like that. Our life, in addition to extreme politicization, has acquired yet another rather unpleasant quality—uncertainty about the future. Empty store shelves, eternally scarce goods, price increases.... And now we have interethnic clashes. Where and from whom can we find protection, help, and support?

The CPSU states that it is prepared to fight for a life befitting a Soviet person. The Kirghiz Communist Party has devised its own action program for the next few years. This inspires hopes. And it is not surprising that the majority of congress delegates supported it. But the course of the discussion of documents in the second stage also revealed many cautionary moments. So it is probably too soon to talk about nationwide support for the adopted program.

How come? K. Sayakbayeva, secretary of Issyk-Kul Obkom, named one of the reasons at the congress:

"It is sad that the completion stage of such an important document was prepared without the participation of the party masses, behind office doors."

This statement came as a surprise to many. Especially after the main speaker's words about the widest consideration being given to all opinions and proposals. Actually, as was noted earlier, the commission worked its way through hundreds of proposals in preparing the program. Many were taken into consideration, but not all. And those that were rejected—by what criteria? Who decided their fate? It remains a mystery. The delegates were hoping that the commission would at least report on the adopted and "axed" proposals. After all, this is the legitimate, democratic right of any communist—to hear an assessment, even a critical one, of his proposals. Alas, at the chairman's suggestion E. Duysheyev declined to do this, saying that time must be saved.

This economy caused serious moral and political damage. Delegates began to roar toward the microphone on the rostrum: "Why weren't they taken into account? Why were they rejected?" But, as the saying goes, "the train had already left." The debate was closed.

I do not want to create the opinion in the reader that the second stage of the Kirghiz Communist Party Congress adopted bad documents. Quite the reverse. Compared with previous years they are undoubtedly more radical, concrete, and analytical. What's more, irrespective of the criticism, many Communists and nonparty people participated in their discussion.

However, what was good yesterday is completely unacceptable today. Such is the situation in the country right now. And all Communists, especially in major party organizations, must set themselves mammoth tasks. Because each one of us must clearly determine with whom we stand, on which side of the barricade. When choosing a position a good, intelligent document is a very good aide.

This is what the Communists and delegates who persistently tried to make their contribution to devising the action program grasped. I agree that not all their proposals can be included in the final version. But there's no denying that they must be heard. This is the main law of party comradeship.

By deviating from this rule, the Kirghiz Communist Party really risks losing its true, active helpers. And without them the party will not survive today.

Yeltsin Documentary Film Banned in Kirghizia

PM1009154390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Ryabushkin: "Yeltsin Movie Banned"]

[Text] Frunze—The showing of the Mosfilm documentary "Boris Yeltsin. Portrait Against a Backdrop of Struggle" has been banned in the movie houses of the Kirghiz capital.

The upcoming premiere was impatiently awaited: The chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet enjoys respect among the inhabitants of Frunze. The movie-circuit organizers did their utmost and provided good publicity. But the movie did not make it onto the city's screens: It was not allowed. The indignant public appealed to the local press for help. The newspaper VECHERNIY FRUNZE carried a note which said: "Showing banned"—movie theater personnel explained, raising their eyes heavenward, indicating the height from which the ban emanated. True, the same newspaper did carry an announcement that the movie would be shown. And deciding that the conflict was now over, the following day the people again began to pour toward the movie theater. But instead of the Yeltsin movie they were showing "Adventures of an American Gangster in the USSR"...

I tried to ascertain who had been meant by the people gazing silently heavenward and rang the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, where I was told that they "do not deal with those matters."

So, there "will be no movie," although the Ala-Too Movie Theater alone will suffer losses of around 20,000 rubles. Last year the movie "State of Emergency on a Rayon Scale" and recently "It's Impossible To Live That Way" were similarly banned.

Tajikistan Sentences Imam for Inciting Riots

LD1009124290 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 10 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Abdugafor Kurbanov]

[Text] Dushanbe September 10 TASS—The Supreme Court of Tajikistan has sentenced 29-year-old Imam Sokidzhon Bedimogov to four years of prison for instigating riots in Dushanbe last February, during which 22 people were killed and 739 wounded.

The defendant argued that he was "a tool in the hands of people yearning for power and pursuing their own political goals." The investigation showed, however, than he was by no means an ordinary instigator and that he acted quite deliberately.

Shortly before the February tragedy, Bedimogov urged a village meeting to rise up in arms against the "infidels" and to set up an Islamic state on the territory of Tajikistan in order to "uphold the interests of the Moslem population."

During an unauthorised meeting opposite the building of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, he urged the people to disobey instructions and incited youngsters to commit illegal actions against the government. According to numerous eyewitnesses, Bedimogov violated both civic and Moslem laws.

As many as 290 people are now being tried for instigation, arson, pogroms and murder attempts. Seventy-seven of them have already been imprisoned.

Mass Riot Casualties Listed

LD1009172390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1324 GMT 10 Sep 90

[Text] News from Tajikistan: Probably none of the trials of the instigators and organizers of the mass riots which took place in the republic's capital in February has attracted such public attention as the one that we are going to talk about. Thus, in the dock is Bedimogov, the 29-year-old imam of a rural mosque. The republican Supreme Court, having fully established the defendant's guilt, sentenced him to four years' imprisonment.

The results of the February events have shown that in these days, which are of shame for my people, I became an unwilling weapon in the hands of people who were grasping for power and pursuing their own political ends, he said in his closing statement. However, as the investigation showed, Bedimogov was far from being a rank-and-file inciter. The facts of the case provided full proof that on 12 February, at an unsanctioned meeting outside the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee building, Bedimogov called upon those gathered to disobey the authorities, provoked young people to illegal actions, and demanded the resignation of the republic's leaders. Appeals were also made for a fight against infidels, and for the creation on the republic's territory of an Islamic state to protect the interests of the Muslim population. But by doing this, Bedimogov also violated Muslim law, the law of the Koran, which condemns dividing people according to ethnic traits, and also the participation of religious figures in politics.

As was reported at the press center of the Tajikistan Ministry of Internal Affairs, according to information from the republican procuracy, 22 people died during the mass riots, and 739 people suffered bodily injury to various degrees from firearms and other weapons. An investigation has recognized as legitimate and justified the use of weapons by military personnel during the mass riots. Some 290 people have had criminal charges brought against them, and of these, 77 have already been sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.

Tajik Cotton Growers Seek New Forms of Ownership

PM1009112890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 5 Sep 90

[Report by A. Gerasimov, M. Nikulin, and S. Dzheglov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In Central Asia the cotton harvest has begun. In Tajikistan it is planned to pick more than 800,000 tonnes of cotton this year. How much effort will this take? We shot this film on the Kuybyshev sovkhoz [state farm] in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast. People who have never been here cannot imagine what it is like to spend all day picking cotton with the sun burning down and temperatures in excess of 40 degrees centigrade in the shade. Yet this is current practice in all the cotton-growing republics. The point is that a combine capable of picking fine-fiber cotton bolls low down on the plant has not yet been built in our country. And for this inhuman work sovkhoz workers earn on average just over 200 rubles per month.

In an effort to cast off the shackles of this labor, which could almost be described as slave labor, people on the sovkhoz have decided to try out new forms of production organization in cotton growing.

[V. Mazo, sovkhoz director and Tajikistan people's deputy] We have various forms of management on our sovkhoz including leasehold collectives and family teams, and they are doing quite well. Of late I have been thinking that if there were private ownership of land, private producers could also show what they are capable of, and I think that our cause would only benefit from this.

[Reporter] The first experience gained in the use of the new forms of management has shown that when cotton growers have an interest in the results of their labor it is possible to increase yields and improve cotton quality. Wages have also risen by between 50 and 100 percent.

The Tajik Supreme Soviet has not yet passed laws on land and ownership. But the people who live and work on the land already know what they want.

[Mazo] I am advocating everywhere that it should be possible to both lease land and sell it, because we ought to have various forms of ownership, and farms should be able to choose which ever form suits them best.

Moves To Improve Military Service for Uzbeks

PM1009090690 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Captain A. Veklich under the rubric "Direct Line": "Uzbek President on Fellow Countrymen's Military Service"]

[Text] Tashkent, 31 Aug—The reception rooms of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and the Uzbek Military Commissariat have become particularly busy recently. The parents of conscripts and servicemen themselves are urgently appealing for sons to be allowed to stay in Uzbekistan for the duration of their military service.

Antiarmy feeling is also being fanned by extremist elements. Mass riots during the burial of Uzbek military servicemen who have been killed in accidents or died from illness are an example of this.

This extremely critical situation that has developed in Uzbekistan was the subject of a conference of the chairmen of Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet committees. Representatives of the Turkestan Military District Command and the Uzbek Military Prosecutor's Office and Military Commissariat took part.

The conference was addressed by I.A. Karimov, president of the Uzbek SSR and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

The president put forward a number of proposals to improve military service for young Uzbeks. The conference also discussed changing the status of the Uzbek Military Commissariat, which would make it possible to properly train young people in readiness for their conscription into the Armed Forces. The republic would allocate resources from its budget for this purpose. It also talked about the need to efficiently coordinate communications with the command of military districts where Uzbeks are doing military service.

The republic is going to create the office of deputy health minister directly responsible for protecting the health of young conscripts.